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AN INQUIRY INTO NEGRO IDENTITY AND A METHODOLOGY FOR INVESTIGATING POTENTIAL RACIAL VIOLENCE. (VOLUMES I AND II).

Rice University, Ph.D., 1966
Social Psychology

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An Inquiry Into Negro Identity
And A Methodology For Investigating
Potential Racial Violence

by

David Blair Justice

A THESIS SUBMITTED
IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE
REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE OF

Doctor of Philosophy

Thesis Director's Signature:

Houston, Texas
May 1966
PREFACE

In February 1965 William F. Soskin of the National Institute of Mental Health visited Houston and reported on his study of recent race riots in the United States and on the danger of more to come. The Houston Council on Human Relations, through Dr. Mary Ellen Goodman, a board member and a professor of anthropology at Rice University, expressed concern with the need for knowing what level of racial tension existed in Houston. She mentioned this to the author, and on March 11, 1965, I began work on a research design to sample the potential for racial violence in a manner believed to be realistic.

The work was carried out independent of any organization and expenses encountered in the course of the project came from personal funds of the author and from the 25 other members of the biracial research team. Presentation of findings was made five months later to city, state and federal authorities, at their request.

Whether the study and the "action recommendations" it generated contributed to any averting of racial violence in Houston in 1965 is a question difficult to answer. One of the purposes in undertaking the research was to see what corrective action -- if any -- could be suggested, once the facts were known. In the course of turning the data over to various authorities, President Lyndon B. Johnson was given a report on the research by Woodrow Seals, U. S. District
Attorney for the Southern District of Texas. Conferences in Washing-
ton were later arranged by the federal district attorney with Lee
White, then Special Counsel to the President and now Chairman of the
Federal Power Commission, and with Ramsey Clark, Deputy Attorney
General in the U. S. Department of Justice. These visits, made by
the author in company with Dr. Goodman, Dr. William McCord and Dr.
Douglass Price-Williams, all of Rice University, served to support
the impression that the research design, particularly the methodology
for sampling racial tension, was new. In his letter to President
Johnson, Seals suggested to the Chief Executive that the methodology
could be applied in any community in the nation interested in "taking
the temperature" of its racial tension. Jack Valenti, Special Assis-
tant to the President, was informed of the research by William P.
Hobby Jr., president and executive editor of the Houston Post.
Valenti replied, saying the project was "definitely worth taking a
look at." Special Counsel White, to whom the letter from Hobby was
referred, stated that "we appreciate your bringing Mr. Blair Justice's
work to our attention. Some of the techniques outlined, I am sure,
will be of substantial value to us." Copies of the letters from
Seals (1), Hobby (2), Valenti (3) and White (4) may be found in
Appendix A.

The people who contributed to this project and assisted the
author in many ways are too numerous to name. Foremost are the 13
Negroes and 12 white citizens of Houston who spent their time, effort
-- and, in some cases, money -- as members of the biracial research
team that participated in the field work for the study. Several are
mentioned in the pages that follow. An enduring debt of gratitude is due all the others as well. If the work by the author and the research team does nothing more than serve as a reminder that racial tension is a fact and that continued measurement of it is the responsibility of any city with a civic conscious, then some good will have come out of the study.

The study could not have been completed without the assistance also from persons not connected with the field work or the research design. Principally, these are faculty members in the Departments of Psychology and Anthropology and Sociology at Rice University, plus Deni Seinfeld, who did the typing of the work. Dr. George Beto, director of the Texas Department of Corrections, and Howard L. Sublett, warden at the Wynne Unit, were exceptionally cooperative in the prison phase of the research. Thanks also go to the Hogg Foundation for financial assistance that was used for expenses incurred in production of the study for printing.

BLAIR JUSTICE

Houston, Texas

May 1966
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INTRODUCTION

I went all sour. It wasn't too hard to do. The hate and rebellion had been building...

He was 5 feet 6 inches tall. He weighed 168 pounds. He had a scar on the upper left arm from being slashed with a razor in Coleman, Texas, in 1945.

James Norris (5) opened his white shirt and just above the webbed belt, there was another scar -- this one from a knife plunged into his belly in Los Angeles in 1956.

The worst scar was on his face and was hardly noticeable any more. Plastic surgery had sanded it down and made it blend into his dark skin. It stretched from his left cheek to just short of the jugular vein in his neck.

The wound came from a single-edge razor in a park in Los Angeles while Norris was supervising a bunch of kids at play.

It was a case of mistaken identity. Norris happened to be wearing the same kind of jacket as the intended victim. The assailant, who attacked from the rear, tried to stop the blood flowing down his victim's face and neck when he recognized his mistake. He paid $150 on Norris' hospital and doctor bills.

When a man's in solitary, he has lots of time to think. He thinks about the bitterness inside him. He thinks about

*Code names are substituted for real ones in case studies presented in this work.*
the bum rap he got. You don't think too much about the concrete that you sleep on, or the bread and water you get. You don't worry about the hole in the floor that is your bathroom.

What you think about is the bitterness that churns in your belly: Bitterness toward a wife you think has deserted you, bitterness toward the people you thought were friends and weren't, bitterness toward the home you never had, toward the father you never had, toward the moving and moving.

But most of all you taste and feel the bitterness toward a world and a system that you think has done you wrong. You think it is all 'their' fault. You hate the cops, you hate the judges, you hate the mulligans, you hate every goddamn son-of-a-bitch that you think is responsible for you being in this junkpile on a habitual criminal rap with a list of charges and convictions as long as your arm.

That is the storm and tempest that raged in this black man. His age: 41. First arrest: in 1936 for burglary. First offense: stealing at the age of 6. First time drunk: when he was 7, on moonshine liquor. Family background: a father he couldn't remember and a mother who worked as a cleaning woman for white people.

When the storm passes and the rage recedes, a man goes on living and James Norris, Prisoner A38150 in the Texas Department of Corrections, went on thinking.

I concluded that I could rant and rage and rebel all the rest of my life, but I wasn't going to change the world or, at least, that part of it that is my world -- the prison system, the mulligans, the cops, the judges.

A man can sometimes see better in the dark than in the light. It came to me on that piece of concrete in solitary that there was one thing I could call my own, and that was me -- myself. I figured it like this: I had been nothing. I had been worst than nothing. I had been a thing belonging to other people. I was just like somebody's knee when the doctor hits it with a hammer. I just reacted to what goaded me, and as long as I did that, I didn't have any control over my life. I didn't even have a life that was really my own. I didn't even have me. I was nothing, just a knee jerking this way and that like when somebody is using a slapstick on you and
you're trying to get away.

So on September 14, 1962, the day I left solitary for the last time, I had it all figured out and I changed. I don't say I changed overnight. I don't say I stopped being a thing all at once. I don't say I decided the world had been right all along, and all I had to do was get in step. That would be just another version of being a thing, a reacting thing, instead of somebody positive on your own. I didn't do any reforming. I just became me: somebody who was going to have his own thrust.

By the time Norris came out of the darkness, out of the concrete block that measured 5½ feet by 8½ feet with a high ceiling and no window, he had a backlog of rebellion, of "jerking this way and that," that could match any other in the memory of the cops and prison officials who knew him.

What he set upon doing on that September day, as he let his eyes get accustomed to the light again, was to gain a power he called "constructivism." He started with books. He had never had anything against books but he had never done any reading. Now he started as if the printed word has just been invented. He went through the Ramsey library in a matter of weeks. He asked for more. He stopped saying "ain't" and using double negatives. He picked up a fluency and a vocabulary that astonished prison officials. The "thrust" had been in him all along, he decided, but he was so busy "reacting" that he never let it assert itself. He had wanted a different life all along, and he remembered looking from the outside in -- at people who had what he wanted but a way of getting it that he did not have.

Even when I was in the free world, and I was knocking around getting a reputation for being a joker (a manipulator), I was listening with some part of my ear to guys that knew more than I did.
I don't mean thugs or pros who got away with more than I could. I mean smart Negroes that I was around occasionally. They seemed to be able to get what I was after in life without using the means I did.

These were the guys who seemed to know what it means to have a house with a yard and a wife who doesn't have to be somebody's cleaning woman and children who will run up to you when you come home and hug your neck and say: 'Daddy, daddy, you're here.' You think I didn't want those things? I wanted them all right. When you have them, you feel like you're wanted somewhere, you're important to somebody. At least somebody knows you're alive. You've got a face. I'm not saying that those guys I'm talking about really had all these things -- they just seemed to me that they did. I'm not saying they knew everything there was to know. I am saying they had some education and I didn't.

By April 1959, Norris had done time in Minnesota, Missouri, California, and Texas. Finally, in the Travis County Court House in Austin, he was given a life sentence as a habitual criminal.

When he entered "the walls" at Huntsville, he was tested for educational grade level. His E.A. (educational achievement) was 3.5 -- meaning he had the education of a person who had completed 3½ years of school and was just .5 above illiteracy, as defined by Texas law.

But once he discovered his "thrust," Norris began a rapid climb from the brink of illiteracy. If he had to chop cotton on the line during the day, he still studied at night. He wasn't going to let anything or anybody, including fellow convicts with their taunts, keep him from his books. In the school program offered every Saturday to prisoners, he took English, mathematics, algebra, history, government -- the whole works. On March 16, 1964, he was awarded a high school equivalency diploma after passing all these courses and a General Educational Development test.

Then he kept right on going. On June 5, 1965, he was one of 57
inmates at Ramsey State Farm who became the first prisoners in Texas ever to take and pass college courses given within a state prison.

Norris became just as interested in the discovery of his thrust as in his books.

That thinking I did in solitary stayed with me. I knew that I could take anything if I had to and still be me. I got the control, not the world. I read Adler, James, Sartre and God knows how many others, and they all said to me: 'Do your own choosing. Be your own man.'

Norris tried hard to be his own man. But 'asserting' instead of 'reacting' was not the easiest thing in the world -- not around recidivists in a maximum security unit. He got taunted, he got accused of becoming an 'inmate' (a prisoner who cooperates with the administration), and he still didn't react. He said he had left 'reacting' behind in the sleepy town of Coleman where he first stole but only got cuffed by the sheriff who put up with it. He said he had left 'reacting' behind in all the shacks he knew as a boy and in the innocence he lost early from watching his mother go to bed with men whose faces he couldn't remember and never knew. He said he left 'reacting' behind in one big city after another, where a black man can become the anonymity he feels. He left it behind in jails stinking with urine and in the concrete floors that broke off his teeth when he got decked by the cops for being a 'smart nigger.'

But at Ramsey there was this one guy 'who got all swoll up at me and kept after me,' Norris said.

I told him: 'You want to kill me? Go ahead. But remember this -- you're not going to get any satisfaction. You're only going to get time and the anger of watching me ignore you. You're going to have to kill me to find out that I'm not letting you determine me.'
Meanwhile, Norris became interested in the "reacting" of Negroes in the free world, of the civil rights marches, the demonstrations. He laughed.

The way to beat the white man is to be your own man. Stop acting like a mirror, reflecting back to him what he doesn't want to see in himself.

Norris started thinking about what he could do in the free world. It was not impossible that he might get released, even as early as 1968. He figured he could find a face out there because he was finding one in a tougher place right where he was.

It became even tougher on August 13, 1965. On that blistering day, James Julius Norris, a very unusual man who found identity in a very unusual way, got stabbed in the chest. His adversary and chief taunter decided to take him up on his offer. The man took a heavy screwdriver, issued on the construction line at Darrington, honed the flat point into a sharp one and plunged it four inches into Norris' chest.

With a toughness that exceeded even the time and the place, Norris stayed on his feet, pulled the screwdriver out and threw it at the feet of his assailant. Then he fell to the ground, his blood staining the scorched earth. Those closest heard him say something about being his own man.
A. A Central Theme

James Norris' is one Negro's story. It was presented at the very outset of this study because it illustrates a central theme: When a person moves so often as a child he can hardly remember all the places he lived, when he has a succession of "fathers" who are as faceless as the houses that were never homes, when he is thrown into the complexity of city life from a rural setting that may have made allowances for deprivation, then the question comes up as to what resources are there left for coping with the world.

This is a study of violence and identity -- of the part violence may play in achieving identity. A basic premise in this inquiry is that a person is nobody -- he has no identity -- until he has the power to gain acknowledgment from others as an individual in his own right. Power can come from many sources. And one of these is violence. James Norris, before his metamorphosis, had too much mobility, anomie and complexity in his background to have access to any other source but violence.

The study that follows is concerned with the potential for a particular kind of violence -- group violence. It is an inquiry into how its potential can be measured, given the idea that power is basic to identity, that violence is one form of power and that mobility, anomie and complexity are breeders of violence.
8. A View From The Street

For 10 days before the Labor Day weekend of September 1965, Houston, Texas, was full of rumors that a race riot was imminent. Watts was still very much in the news and the talk was that a Los Angeles riot was coming to Houston. If sections of the study being reported here smack of the dramatic, the reason is that the air in "Space City, USA," was heavy with a sense of potential violence.

What had begun on the author's part as a quiet, orderly attempt to sample the level of racial tension in "the outstanding boom city" of the country (6) became a frank and imperative participation with authorities in checking rumors, answering phone calls at all hours, staying up most the night running down new leads and consulting with city, state and federal officials -- at their request -- on what five months of independent data-gathering had netted.

To the 25 people who contributed to this data-gathering and who lived closest to the fact that the potential for violence was very real, indeed, there was no getting around the feeling that Houston seemed a city in crisis. Even if all the rumors, from the "Bloody Fifth" ward to the genteel Southwest section of the city were false, the fact remained that many people believed them. And it was a question of whether that fear would in itself generate trouble through precipitous action. Also, it was a question of whether groups known to favor racial strife would take advantage of the tension and initiate what so many feared and more than a few expected.

A major dimension of the methodology to sample racial tension
was designed to be "naturalistic" -- that is, to gather data in the natural setting of those who were most likely to feed fuel to the fire if a riot began (7). The cultural anthropologist often works with naturalistic methods as his tools (8). Participant-observation is not only necessary but expected (9). Methods used here for tracing the course of events -- and making some sense out of them -- were borrowed not only from the cultural anthropologist, but also the psychologist and the sociologist. The "observation" of racial tension in Houston became an urgent "participation" against potential violence as that Labor Day weekend approached, and as the Ku Klux Klan (10) chose the area for its first full-scale rally near Houston in 35 years.

The first two parts of this study include accounts of that peak period of participant-observation. They also attempt to give some feeling of the racial atmosphere, of the influences that seemed to be contributing to increased tension. There will be need to take at least a brief looks at what happened in Watts, at the state of the Black Muslim in both prison and the "free world," and at the changing expectations of the Negro as they may diverge from the roles that the white man wants to assign him. To the extent that the Ku Klux Klan, the American Nazi Party, the John Birch Society, as well as the Black Muslims, reflect varying images of the Negro, they too will enter the story as a prelude to the specific findings on racial tension in Houston during the summer of 1965. Since the study is an inquiry into Negro identity and potential racial violence, there will also be a theoretical formulation and model developed out of
these themes for synthesis and explanation of the findings from the field.

On all levels of formulation, from the abstract to the empirical, the central focus is the Negro and identity. "The Negro," it is recognized, is an abstraction in itself, an "ideal type" at best, since no one Negro represents all Negroes, any more than one white man stands for all other people whose skin is of that color. A number of contemporary authors (11) have dealt with "the Negro" without mention that even if the term is meant to apply to a statistical "modal personality" (12), there is the constant risk of glossing over critical individual differences as though they did not exist. There is the same risk in discussing the Negro community (13, 14) as though it were a monolithic structure with no variances in socio-economic status, in educational level, in the elements of what Allport calls "becoming" and the ingredients of what Sartre considers man's choice (15, 16).

As for identity, the companion theme, there will be an examination of what others have meant by this term (17, 18). But, equally important, there will be a focus on why it should be considered in this study as so central to the issue of potential racial violence.

Identity has been deftly dealt with by Negro authors as a basic factor in the whole question of what it is like to be a black man in America (19, 20). But the way that the concept will be formulated in this study is as follows: The one common thread that seems to be implicit in the views on identity -- from the psychoanalytic to the literary -- is that there must be some appreciation not only of
one's self as a separate entity but also an awareness that one has the power, the ability, to act in his own right (21, 22, 23). Until the power is acquired, until the individual sees that he has it -- and this recognition comes from others conceding that he does (24) -- then a Negro, or any other person, is indeed Ellison's Invisible Man. At least, this will be a basic theoretical statement of the problem.

It should not be interpreted that a binary, all-or-none identity theory will be suggested as a model for violence -- that a person is either "nobody" or "somebody" and that violence is correlated with the nobody who tries to define himself through aggression that makes him somebody. What will be proposed is a continuum model, which attempts to take into account the gradations between the concepts "nobody" and "somebody."

There will be no attempt to generalize toward an inclusive theory accounting for all violence in terms of identity -- or the lack of it. As will be seen, the study necessarily focuses more on the lack of identity, as defined here, than on the possession of it. A major aim in the research was to investigate the identity question in terms that lend themselves to quantification. The requirements were that the principal factors examined not only had to be relevant to the concept of identity but also "accessible" enough to permit a reasonable degree of observation and measurement.

In this respect, three elements will be examined as they relate to identity and the lack of it. These are (a) Mobility -- number of moves in pre-adult years, (b) Anomie -- fragmentation of family,
as experienced as a child,\(^\ast\) and (c) Complexity -- shifts from rural to urban environments. These factors were tested in the field for a correlation with attitudes toward racial violence. As a corollary feature, the research done among Negroes in "the free world" was extended to prison inmates who had known records of violence.

In exploring possible precursors to racial violence, it was noted that a number of retrospective studies on riots have centered primarily on sociological parameters (25, 26, 27, 28, 29, 30, 31, 32, 33, 34, 35, 36, 37). Poor housing, unemployment, "ghetto-izing"-- all undoubtedly contribute to the caldron of feelings that finally boil over into mob violence. Some of these feelings, as well as some of the psychosociological conditions behind them, are explored in this study.

Both the psychologist and sociologist have a long way to go to analyze all the racial clashes that have been reported in this country. In Texas, Longview (38), Port Arthur (39), as well as Houston (see Part I), have had outbreaks, but accounts of them are in the yellowing pages of old newspapers. Whatever lessons they contained are as long forgotten as the clippings. One hope here is that the present study may suggest preventive measures in advance of the kind of violence that has visited Houston once -- as well as a number of cities in other areas -- and is now striking in a series of long,

\(^\ast\) Anomie is used in a sense related to the Durkheimian concept but, as will be seen in Parts III and IV, the emphasis here is not on suicide and the failure or "excess" of social integration but on the effects of family fragmentation in terms of influencing attitudes toward violence.
hot summers across the nation.

In the case of the major racial outbreaks that have been examined, authors have often used historical methods or in-depth journalism techniques with a sociological bent. In addition to works already cited, there have been studies by Du Bois (40, 41), Frazier (42), Myrdal (43), Sandburg (44), Powell (45), Harrison (46), Dahike (47), and the Chicago Commission on Race Relations (48).

Waskow (49), a member of the Institute for Policy Studies in Washington, says he tried to use both sociological and historical approaches in *From Race Riot to Sit-In, 1919 and the 1960s*. Nevertheless, he still focused on such conditions as unemployment and lack of leadership as basic to racial trouble. There is no denying that these factors are important. But it is to Waskow's credit that he also places emphasis on the abusive way that many white people, particularly white police, have historically talked to Negroes and referred to them.

Following a psychosociological line, a primary objective in the current study was to view the individual as a person striving for some mastery of his world. Adler placed considerable emphasis on a similar kind of mastery, but viewed an "inferiority complex" as at the root (50). The relationship of mastery to the present study is more through the power it gives an individual in terms of establishing an identity. The search for both mastery and identity may begin in some cases with an attempt to compensate for feelings of inferiority, but in this study the concern is more with violence
as a means to "master" and with its possible antecedents in terms of mobility, anomie and complexity.

Adler dealt with what he called "individual psychology," and to the degree that this piece of research tries to concentrate on persons from a street level, it too places prime importance on the individual and some possible influences on his behavior. It attempts to view certain individuals from close range and to avoid a detached analysis made from "historical heights." Tolstoi, in War and Peace, said history is made by the man in the front ranks -- not by the general who plans the strategy from a safe distance in the rear. The hope is that the Negro "on the street" comes across as the focal point in the small piece of history constituted in this study.

It is recognized that the Negro's housing, his lack of a job or leadership are important to him as an individual, and as precursors to racial unrest. But it is suggested that the modes of expression that help give him an identity, or fail to, are also useful when considering indices to racial tension. The objective is to make use not only of the sociological and what it suggests about the level of racial tension, but also to go beyond poor housing, unemployment, and community disorganization into the "interior" of the individual, into what might be regarded as more psychological considerations (but where sociology stops and psychology begins is a line the author will not try to draw).

None of this is meant to imply that the psychological makeup of the individual who commits violence is a prime theme in the
study. Authors in a number of fields, ranging from social psychology (51), clinical psychology (52), criminology and sociology (53), psychoanalysis (54), culture and personality (55), to dramatic documentaries (56) have explored what is variously called the psychopath, the sociopath, the anti-social personality or character disorder in reference to violence. Certainly, the principle of identity, self-concept, self-image and similar constructs have also been examined in connection with violence (57, 58, 59).

And Kardiner has outlined the effects he believes "oppression" has on self-esteem and identity, as well as on the total personality structure of the Negro (60).

In hopes of plowing new fields, the present study -- as already suggested -- explores three factors associated with problems of identity in terms of how these relate to attitudes and threats of racial violence. Mobility, anomie and complexity will be referred to as MAC factors, and will be examined mostly on the basis of how they act in combination rather than separately in a sample population and individual cases.

As for the potential of group violence that will be studied, it is not suggested that identity has escaped notice in this context. Explorations into mass behavior and questions of identity include Erikson's formulations on the growth of the Nazi movement, which unquestionably had both violence and racial overtones (17). But such studies rely heavily on psychoanalytic constructs. In the present work, it was hoped that the quantitative character of sociological dimensions, such as population per household and racial dis-
tribution by geographical area, could be retained in examining certain psychological factors that could also be measured -- at least to the degree that number of moves, "broken homes" and rural-to-urban shifts lend themselves to quantification and can be called "psychological." Just as violence may be one expression of the familiar frustration-aggression theme outlined in so many studies (61, 62, 63, 64, 65), it is proposed in this research that violence may also be a way of establishing an identity, of demonstrating the power to act and gaining acknowledgement from others.

Although Yablonsky (66, 67), among other authorities, have suggested that violence may bring recognition of being "somebody" -- for example a "cold killer" -- a main theme in the present study is not so much on the violent individual as on potential group action. It is particularly on groups in a single city. As previously noted, this does not mean to imply that "the group" is a monolithic aggregation sharing identical values, with all members exhibiting uniform and homogeneous behavior. It simply means that the major focus here is on Negroes in Houston, Texas and on racial tension -- as primarily expressed in attitudes toward violence and as associated with problems of identity.

Bullock examined The Houston Murder Problem as chairman of "The Mayor's Negro Law Enforcement Committee," but the major concern in his study was with crime against person and property committed by the individual (68). The individual in the present study is introduced as a means for comparing the MAC identity factors as they relate to group attitudes toward violence, with the same background
variables on people sent to prison for crime against person. It was felt that in any situation where a race riot broke out, or threatened to occur, the individual with a known record of violence would participate if given the opportunity. By examining the identity problems of individuals with known records of violence -- such as James Norris -- some check seemed possible not only on the relevance of mobility, anomie and complexity but also on the behavior that could be expected from certain individuals if free to participate in rioting. Records of 100 persons arrested in the Detroit race riot of June 1943 were examined from a similar standpoint to determine what kind of background the offenders had (27).

As for Houston, it has had one race riot, as will be seen, but the list of studies on racial problems in the city seems distressingly brief for a metropolitan area now approaching a population of nearly 2,000,000. Admittedly, there have been psychological and sociological studies made pertaining to Negroes in Houston (69, 70, 71, 72, 73, 74, 75, 76, 77, 78, 79, 80, 81, 82, 83, 84, 85, 86, 87, 88) but none that has attempted to examine the kind of tension which seems to underlie threats of racial violence. Before this study got underway, various authorities and organizations such as the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People were asked what efforts, if any, were being directed toward realistic sampling of racial tension in advance of violence. Persons such as Roy Wilkins, NAACP executive director who visited Houston to make a speech, knew of none. A review of the behavioral science literature failed to turn up a methodology considered realistic -- that is, one based on
sampling racial tension on the lowest socio-economic levels, which authorities such as Soskin consider as the explosive strata once there is ignition. After the study began, it became apparent that possible sources of ignition could not be ignored. So an additional dimension was then included in the research, and 10 more workers were enlisted by the author to join some 15 already contributing to the project.

The research design, in its final stage of evolution, was three-dimensional, consisting of (a) in-depth interviews called "natural dialogues," which were conducted among Negroes known to be on the lowest socio-economic strata; (b) "listening posts," which produced reports from project team members whose jobs put them in daily contact with lower socio-economic-class Negroes, and (c) reports on organizations or individuals considered to take such strong positions on the racial question as to constitute a possible source of ignition or provocation in an outbreak of violence. The study being presented here is concerned primarily with data from the first two dimensions, although a number of references will be made to the third.

The parts that follow will attempt to examine the question of Negro identity and potential violence in a way that illuminates the conditions and circumstances out of which the research design evolved. The sequence in which the parts will be presented is:

Part I -- Climate for Violence
Part II -- Images and Expectations
Part III -- Theoretical Formulations and Model
Part IV -- Methodology and Results
Part V -- Individual Violence
Part VI -- Comments and Conclusions
I -- CLIMATE FOR VIOLENCE

A. The Potential Outbreak

"The Watts riot? Justified? Hell, yes. They're tired of being nothin's just like us. Only we just think about riot here -- so far" (89).

He was 29. Tall. A very dark Negro. He had a job as a bus boy when he worked. But he also had a hernia. And he needed an operation -- and a home.

"A home? What's that? I've been on the move since I was 6, and I ain't even been out of this city yet."

He had been asked about where he lived -- which ward. The word "home" seemed to stick in his craw. So did "family."

"I don't know who my father was. We had men in and out of every place we lived, but my father weren't one of them. That's the way my family was."

It was August 1965: The year of 36 dead and 898 wounded and injured in Los Angeles race rioting (90). And people in high places in Houston said "it can't happen here" (91).

It had already happened here once -- during an August 48 years ago. In that riot there were 16 killed (including seven white policemen) and 19 wounded (92). A Negro soldier from the West End's Camp Logan had tried to intervene in the arrest of a Negro woman by a city policeman. Before it was over, there was violence not only
between Negroes and policemen, but also between Negro troops and their white officers.

But that was August 1917. The question now, in August 1965, was: Could there be a Watts in Houston? Soskin, of the National Institute of Mental Health's Office of Planning, had already said it could happen anywhere -- in any place, North, South, East or West, where there were rootlessness, community and family fragmentation and urban chaos among Negroes (7). Samuel Adams, director of research, Southern Regional Council, was still saying it in November 1965, predicting the potential for violence would last as long as there was fuel to feed the fire and a match to light it (93). In Houston, in March 1966, Rev. Leon Everett, Negro preacher who led a protest before City Council, was warning of "smoldering unrest" after a Negro man was shot to death by a white policeman (94). The "'Lucky' Hill incident," as it became known, went down on the grand jury records as justifiable homicide -- an officer's defending himself against an accused thief who turned out to be an ex-convict. But to the Negroes in the area of the shooting, Eugene "Lucky" Hill was more than an "incident" and the action of the policeman was viewed as excessive and unnecessary force. Ennis Wilson, Negro real estate broker next door to the scene of the shooting, said that "it wouldn't haven't taken much more" to set the gathering crowd off the afternoon the killing occurred (95). In terms of racial tension generally, Wilson gauged the sentiment of Negroes as being at a level where "trouble can start from what seems a minor incident."

As for 1965, the fuel in "Space City, USA" was gauged in surveys
conducted from April through September 4. As previously indicated, measurement of racial tension involved the sampling of attitudes toward violence among Negroes on the lowest socio-economic levels. A primary method used was a series of "natural dialogue" interviews. These were called "natural dialogues" since they were conducted in a conversational manner without the subject's being aware he was being interviewed. Details of this in-depth interview technique will be presented in Part IV.

For now, a summary of significant findings resulting from 110 "natural dialogues" is given in Table 1. It should be noted that only attitudes toward racial violence are listed. Other categories of attitudes on racial questions also were explored, as will be seen in Part IV. In regard to the racial violence attitudes, Table 1 indicates three levels of response: No sanction of racial violence under any circumstances, strong sanction, and sanction "in varying other degrees." The latter includes support of racial violence depending on circumstances, as will be explained more fully in the section entitled "Dimension 1 ('Natural Dialogues') Results." In any event, 76 percent of Negroes interviewed favored racial violence in some respect.

And violence there was. It was not the widespread, out-of-hand kind that was so talked about in Houston before the Labor Day weekend that the mayor took to television to say that more than 500 "rumors" of racial violence had been "checked out" by a special force of round-the-clock detectives (96). It was a more furtive and sporadic violence.

Example: At 12:10 a.m. on Friday, August 27, 1965, Charles
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Category</th>
<th>Attitude</th>
<th>Percent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Racial Violence</td>
<td>Does not sanction it on either a collective or individual basis</td>
<td>23.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Strongly sanctions it</td>
<td>29.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Sanctions it in varying other degrees</td>
<td>47.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Williams, 38, a night-time porter, was walking to his front porch at 840 Granville in Acres Homes addition.

According to Williams and a neighbor across the street, a white Ford with three or four youths -- identified as "not Negro" -- came to a stop alongside the drainage ditch in front of Williams' asbestos-siding, four-room house. A shotgun from a window on the right side of the car fired two times: Williams, hit in the right leg just as he got on his front porch, staggered next door for help, crying: "I'm shot! I'm shot!" The white car sped away, heading west. Forty-three No. 2 buckshot were found embedded in the front of Williams' house. The screeンドoor that he was about to open had two thumb-size holes ripped in it from the blasts. Four of the buckshot were extracted from the asbestos siding and front door by his next-door neighbor, Gus Taylor, whom Williams had contacted for help at 834 Granville, and the author. Sheriff deputies, called to the scene to investigate the shooting, had made no effort to collect such evidence up to 3 p.m. the next day.

Forty minutes after Williams was shot, a Negro man and woman were walking in the 6400 block of Settegast in the northeast part of Houston. A car, described by the couple as a white Ford, slowed down alongside them. Inside, again according to the man and woman, were "three or four white boys." A shotgun, from a window on the right side of the Ford, blasted away once as the car sped up again. The woman was hit in the back, and the man received a "burn" wound in the arm. Both were taken to Ben Taub Hospital for treatment. Already there was Charles Williams. He and the woman discussed what
had happened to each other and came to the conclusion that they had been fired upon by the same white boys who seemed to be cruising around looking for trouble. A report to this effect was presented by the author to City Attorney John Wildenthal at 9:15 a.m. August 27, 1965. He relayed it to Mayor Louie Welch and Police Chief Herman Short. At 11:00 a.m., Chief Short's "intelligence squad" had completed its own investigation. In a conference in his office that afternoon, he reported that he believed the two shootings were connected and were the "work of white boys trying to stir up racial trouble." (97). Since the 800 block of Granville is one block beyond the city limits, Short did not have jurisdiction to conduct an investigation into the shooting at Williams' home. However, he was supplied with one of the buckshot, dug out of the asbestos siding, and attempted to make contact with the sheriff, who did have jurisdiction in Acres Homes addition. Efforts to reach the sheriff, both by Short and by the author, failed.

Short repeatedly said that he regarded "the situation" as "serious," that "rumors" of violence were coming in faster than his men could check them out, and that he would increase the number of patrol cars and officers on all roads, streets and freeways providing access to Acres Homes from the city limits of Houston. As for the county authorities, when police radio contact and phone calls failed to reach Sheriff C. V. "Buster" Kern, a personal visit was made to the sheriff's office. A report on the seriousness of the situation was given by William P. Hobby Jr., now executive editor and president of the Houston Post, who had been kept informed of developments by the
author. Accompanying Hobby to the sheriff's office were Taylor and
the author. In the absence of Kern and his chief deputy, the report
was given to the captain on duty, who said he would "investigate."

At 8:00 p.m., after a spot check in the Acres Homes community.
Taylor reported that "there are a good number of people out here
sitting in their living rooms with guns in their arms and their lights
out -- if trouble comes, there's going to be a lot of shooting" (98).
Acres Homes and surrounding real estate developments constitute an
area of 30,000 Negroes, founded some 30 to 35 years ago as a community
where Negroes could own their own homes in a "country-like" setting.
In 1965 there were still no sidewalks, street lights, curbs, or a paid
fire department. The voluntary fire department had two trucks, one
of which periodically had leaks in the water tank or trouble in the
engine. Nevertheless, as Taylor said, "This area is our home, and
the people here don't want outsiders coming in starting something.
They are going to shoot back if shot at!" (98).

Feeding the potential for violence was this rumor: A day before
the shooting, a woman one block away on Granville had enrolled her
child in a previously all-white elementary school, under a new ruling
of the Houston Board of Education. The rumor circulated in Acres
Homes that the shooting on Granville was in retaliation for Negro
"encroachment" in a school "belonging to whites." There were some
in Acres Homes, including the mother of the Negro pupil, who believed
Williams was mistaken for her husband by the occupants of the white
Ford.

Only four days earlier, the mayor had made the statement that
"Watts couldn't happen here." But after the Acres Homes-Settegast shootings, not only city officials but other branches of government began re-appraising the potential for violence in Houston. On the morning of August 31, 1965, the U. S. Attorney for the Southern District of Texas, Woodrow Seals, asked that the Federal Bureau of Investigation be briefed on the research team's work and said he would arrange a conference with the agent in charge of the Houston office. Seals had been informed on August 26, 1965, of the biracial research group and was told it had started on March 11, 1965, as a project to sample the level of racial tension in Houston (99).

At the meeting with the FBI (100), a report was given on current Ku Klux Klan activities in the Houston area by Dr. Lee Anderson Smith, a key member of the biracial research team, which included the 13 Negro and 12 white citizens who assisted the author. On the afternoon of August 30, 1965, four members of the biracial research group presented a list of "action recommendations" to the mayor, as he had requested the previous week (101). Those at the conference included Welch, Police Chief Short, City Attorney Wildenthal, Dr. Melvin Sikes, Mrs. Marjorie Mann Stuart, Taylor, and the author. Dr. Mary Ellen Goodman, who had helped substantially with the recommendations, also attended the two-hour session. The mayor conceded that it was imprudent to believe that "Watts couldn't happen here" and reviewed point by point the action recommendations (see Appendix A). At the conference with members of the research team the previous week (101), the mayor had made the statement that a primary reason for believing "it can't happen here" was that Houston had fewer Negro "ghettos,"
less crowding per household and more home ownership. The author cited findings from a Houston-Los Angeles comparison that had just been begun by two members of the research team and himself. Based on U. S. census data of 1960, it focused on areas where violence had occurred in Los Angeles and compared these with the Negro "ghettos" of Houston. As indicated in Table 2, the assumptions about fewer ghettos in Houston, less crowding and more home ownership did not seem to find much support from the actual data. In Appendix B there is a map showing census tracts in Houston, including those that are predominantly Negro. There is also a sketch of the census tracts in Los Angeles where violence (represented by X marks) occurred.

This was the kind of information being used to make the comparison between Negro ghettos in Houston and Los Angeles. By the time the second conference was held with the mayor on August 30, 1965, the census tract-by-census tract comparison was further along, and the conclusion seemed inescapable that Houston could not claim "better conditions" for its Negroes. *

This position was also confirmed by a member of the research team who was in Los Angeles at the time of the rioting and conducted interviews with approximately 20 Negroes a day between August 14 and August 22, 1965. Her full report, as given in a 90-minute taped interview with the author on August 25, 1965, is included in Appendix C.

*It will be noticed in Table 2 that the census tracts in Los Angeles are as much as seven times smaller, in population, than those in Houston. Even with the larger tracts, Houston showed a higher concentration of Negroes, on the average, per tract.
TABLE 2

COMPARISON BETWEEN THE FIVE CENSUS TRACTS IN HOUSTON MOST HEAVILY POPULATED BY NEGROES WITH THOSE IN LOS ANGELES WHERE MOB VIOLENCE OCCURRED IN AUGUST 1965 a

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
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<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>38</td>
<td>2424</td>
<td>12,344</td>
<td>1,543</td>
<td>99.4 99.6 3.31 4.37 18.6 66.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>95c</td>
<td>2416</td>
<td>1,964</td>
<td>2,993</td>
<td>99.3 99.0 3.43 3.67 62.9 66.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>37</td>
<td>2265</td>
<td>14,679</td>
<td>3,334</td>
<td>98.7 98.6 3.15 2.90 17.7 22.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18</td>
<td>2292</td>
<td>14,235</td>
<td>2,775</td>
<td>98.2 97.8 3.40 2.72 21.7 26.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>93A</td>
<td>2286</td>
<td>6,390</td>
<td>2,845</td>
<td>98.1 97.4 3.87 2.53 62.6 23.7</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Total of the five tracts 49,612 13,490

|                      |                       |                       |                       |                       |                       |
|----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|
| 2293                 | 2,864                 | 93.1                  | 2.65                  | 22.1                  |
| 2425                 | 2,009                 | 96.2                  | 3.59                  | 30.3                  |
| 2431                 | 3,962                 | 89.9                  | 4.51                  | 27.9                  |
| 2415                 | 2,670                 | 89.9                  | 3.59                  | 54.3                  |
| 2409                 | 4,321                 | 82.9                  | 3.91                  | 54.4                  |

a Based on U. S. Bureau of the Census advance tabulation and final reports of the 1960 Decennial Census.

b Just outside Houston city limits.

c Even when additional Los Angeles tracts are examined, to make their total population more comparable to Houston's, the conditions still do not bear out the assumption that Houston is less "ghetto-ized."
with excerpts quoted in Part III.

During Houston's critical period of August-September 1965, the author began making a record of rumors of racial strife in an attempt to illustrate what people were saying and hearing -- and, in many cases, apparently believing. Although members of the research team did not pick up nearly the number that the police and mayor were trying to check out, Table 3 represents a summary of rumors heard during a two-week period. These were rumors picked up by the author and by members of the research team doing "natural dialogue" interviews and by those taking part in "listening post" activity. "Listening post," as mentioned earlier, was the name given to the data-gathering activity of team members in daily contact with lower socio-economic class Negroes by virtue of holding such jobs as welfare worker, bar tender or employment counselor.

One report that seemed more than a rumor was the one on gun sales. The racial violence in Los Angeles seemed to give an alarming boost to gun sales in Houston. (Texas laws allow across-the-counter sales of pistols, as well as rifles, without registration or permit.) In a survey just prior to the first of September, these were typical statements from retail gun dealers, chosen by geographical distribution (102):

..."There is a high interest in pistols. The increase began since the Los Angeles crisis."

..."We've had a tremendous pistol sale and much repair of already-owned pistols. Many husbands are buying for their wives and many women are shopping for themselves. They prefer a .25 caliber."
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Category</th>
<th>Number</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Urgent</td>
<td>29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;Muslims are unloading machine guns from a truck in the Memorial area.&quot;</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;The KKK is sending its 'shock troops' into the Fifth Ward tonight to attack Negroes.&quot;</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Guns</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;You can't even find one in stock at Sears Roebuck.&quot;</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Seek Safety</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;People are leaving the city by the droves -- before the Labor Day weekend.&quot;</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;Nobody's getting out of their houses -- they're locking all the doors and staying inside.&quot;</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Outside Agitators</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;All those Negroes with California license plates aren't here for the Baptist convention like the Mayor claims -- they're from Watts.&quot;</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Reinforcements</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;The Governor has put all National Guard-Army Reserve units on alert.&quot;</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;A downtown hotel has 50 federal marshals quartered there -- waiting.&quot;</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Miscellaneous</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;The Shamrock-Hilton has told all its colored help to stay at home until after Labor Day.&quot;</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total in two weeks</td>
<td>76</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
"...Both men and women are shopping in increased numbers. They want .32, .25 and .38 caliber pistols."

"...We've had many calls from people wanting a gun for 'home' use."

From a dealer in both wholesale and retail sales came this observation: "Guns are not in supply enough to meet the demand. If the shop doesn't have what the customer first wants, he will usually buy any gun that is available.

"Negroes are buying cheap guns, such as a $11.95 pistol, .22 caliber. Whites are not buying any particular caliber, but they are buying."

Although "listening post" reports tended to confirm statements obtained in this survey, a front-page article on September 2, 1965 in the Houston Tribune, a conservative weekly, stated it made a spot check and found no increase in gun sales.

The increased gun sales -- and the inevitable rumors about them -- served to heighten racial tension. But much of what was going on was never reported by the mass media. In varying degrees it involved the KKK, the American Nazi Party, the Citizens Council of America, the John Birch Society and the Black Muslims. Just enough reached segments of the Negro community to cause concern.
B. Provocation

"The new Klansmen are young, strong, highly trained individuals who know how to take orders. The majority of them are disciplined, expertly trained in Judo or Karate and in the use of a variety of small arms by reason of their service in the armed forces. Ex-Marines are seemingly favorite recruits" (10, p. 1).

By mid-summer 1965, it was evident that the United Klans of America, Inc., Knights of the Ku Klux Klan, were attempting a major revival in Texas. State headquarters were Houston, as was the case in 1915 when the Texas Klan grew in five years to be the largest of all Klans in the southern states (10, p. 1). Dr. Smith established liaison with the Texas Klan hierarchy by virtue of being a combat veteran of six years in the Marine Corps and -- in the opinion of the Klan leaders -- a likely prospect for the KKK. William Drennan, Acting Grand Dragon of Texas, went through boot camp training in the same period as did Smith, who held a number of "non-partisan" interviews with the Klan leader during the summer of 1965. After the August 31 meeting with the agent-in-charge of the FBI, Frank Hitt, continuing information about the KKK was passed on to that organization and city police at the request of both.

For two months, preparation had been underway for a "show of strength" by the Klan in the Houston area. Robert M. Shelton of Tuscaloosa, Alabama, Imperial Wizard of the United Klans, was to be the speaker. All of this posed no threat of provocation to the Negro community until dissension within the Texas Klan hierarchy caused a
split over a number of issues, including how aggressive the revived state KKK should be on the Negro question. George A. Otto, the Texas Grand Titan was challenging Drennan for the permanent Grand Dragon post, and was accused by the acting top officer of wanting to "go down in the Fifth Ward and stir up trouble with the niggers" (103). In any event, despite a policy to play down news of local KKK activities in newspapers such as the Houston Post, word of the forthcoming rally was beginning to reach the Fifth and Third Wards, which are predominantly Negro. This was before the "crisis" of the Labor Day weekend, although the Klan rally was not scheduled until September 18, 1965.

There were some people in the Negro areas with long memories, and when word of the revived KKK was circulated, there was quiet talk of not letting the Klan do what it once had done in Houston. "If they want trouble, they will get it and blood will flow," said the 55-year old owner of Inside Houston, a small Negro tabloid that carries news of entertainment and sports plus outspoken editorials on race issues (104). Cliff Richardson remembered the Klan from the 1920's and was one of a number of Negroes interviewed by the author, using a tape recorder, starting in May 1965. Here are excerpts about the Klan, taken from the second of two interviews:

Q) Tell me about the episode you wanted to mention regarding the first revival of the KKK in Texas.

A) Well, the time was real bad here.

Q) What period are we talking about?

A) We are talking about the twenties, during the heyday of
the Klan... My father wrote a lot of editorials about it.

His father was Clifton F. Richardson Sr. and the paper he published was called the Houston Informer, forerunner of a Negro weekly still publishing. Cliff Richardson, who owns Inside Houston, said, "everybody, with one exception, pulled all advertising out of my father's paper" when he began the editorials against the Klan. Then, as now, the most profitable advertising for the Negro paper came from white owners of department stores and clothing shops.

Q) Was your father speaking out at the time on any other matters besides the Klan?

A) Yes, he was making efforts to get Negroes to vote in the Democratic primary for the first time.

Q) What did the Klan do about all this?

A) They burned about three crosses on our lawn and wrecked the equipment in my father's shop.

Q) What happened after that?

A) Well, there at 1509 Robin -- that's where we lived and where my mother still lives -- it got pretty bad. But we were pretty much in on what the Klan was up to around the area in general. A lot of Negro friends worked for white people who talked about Klan plans. So the Negroes would tell us what was coming next.

Q) Did Negroes in your area, or people in your family, do anything based on what they heard about the Klan?

A) Well, I can remember that a group of Negroes slept under the front porch of our house with rifles and shotguns waiting for the Klan to come back after those three times they burned crosses.
Q) They were going to battle them if they came back?

A) Oh, yes. And it'll happen again. I mean during this current period, if the Klan comes looking for trouble.

But in early September 1965, the KKK was still not openly seeking trouble in the Negro areas. The Labor Day weekend passed without rioting, and this served to reduce tension. But circulars of the forthcoming Klan rally were beginning to be passed in Houston, including some Negro areas (see Appendix B for copy of handbill).

One small confrontation occurred on September 16, 1965, when Sheriff James G. Clark of Selma, Alabama, spoke in Houston under sponsorship of the Citizens Councils of America. His appearance was challenged by the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, Houston Metropolitan Council (see statement in Appendix B). Also a group of pickets, mostly from the University of Houston, demonstrated in protest. Negroes were in the group, and gained admission to the talk on the grounds that since it was being held in the auditorium of Lamar High School, the meeting was on public property and any taxpayer could attend. Members of the CCA tried to bar the doors from the lobby into the auditorium, but were unsuccessful. A number of policemen were present and several intervened in the dispute. As the argument over admission was going on among leaders of both sides, a number of the pickets slipped in unguarded doors. Among them was Asberry B. Butler, Negro member of the Houston Board of Education. Butler sat among Negroes and whites who heckled the speaker a few times before the protest group got up and left.

When the meeting was over, there were unrobed Klansmen on the
steps of the high school to distribute circulars announcing the KKK rally in Houston on September 18, three nights later (105). On the afternoon of September 15 circulars announcing a rally at Crockett, 125 miles north, had been posted on telephone poles at the site of the Houston rally (106; see Appendix B for photo of posted handbill). On the day after the Clark talk, fliers on the Houston rally were being generally distributed in the city. On both the circular announcing the KKK meeting in Houston and the one about the Crockett rally, much the same wording was used: "Come! -- See! -- Hear! Robert M. Shelton, Imperial Wizard, Head of the United Klans of America....See Actual Photos Taken in Selma, Ala., Hear the Truth About the Communist Inspired Civil Rights Movement."

Although the racially integrated group of pickets who demonstrated at the talk of Sheriff Clark discussed a protest at the Klan rally in the Houston area, no pickets showed up. No Negroes were seen by the author either at the rally at Crockett or at Sheldon, a small community in Northeast Harris County, just outside Houston city limits, where the September 18 KKK meeting was held. There were aspersions made at both rallies, of course, to Negroes, the most degrading references appearing in songs played over the field loudspeakers as the crowd gathered in the pastures for the rally. (See Appendix B for pictures of the rally.) In Part II, on identity, some references to similar calumnies will be examined in more detail -- not because they necessarily got back to Houston Negroes, but because they illustrate a type of role that "the nigra" was expected to play.

In Part II, there will also be an examination of roles and
"identities" assigned the Negro by organizations such as the American Nazi Party. As in the case with the Klan, the George Lincoln Rockwell group tended to attract attention far out of proportion to the strength of its membership. But such groups cannot be ignored. The ignition, as Adams makes plain, can come from a very small match (93, p. 3).

At this point, the American Nazi Party is relevant because it produced the sort of extreme racial provocation that the Klan itself formerly generated but now seemed to leave up to the Rockwells. Some intersection occurred between the two organizations. For instance, Jerald Thomas Walraven, 25, who was arrested in Dallas on November 22, 1963 as an anti-Kennedy demonstrator, represented one link between the Klan and the Nazi group, although this is not meant to imply that the two organizations found favor with one another; they did not. But Walraven was in Houston in September 1964 representing himself as an "organizer" for the Klan and visiting with prospective members in the Southwest part of the city (107, pp. 14-16). He also appeared on a radio station as a KKK organizer with strong words to say about the newly-passed Civil Rights Act. After it was revealed that a check paid to Walraven for his visit to Houston had a second endorsement by Rockwell and was stamped with a Nazi swastika, Walraven -- a Dallas freelance photographer -- said he had left the KKK because the American Nazi Party was "better organized and tougher" (107, p. 16). The same sentiment was expressed by a man distributing Nazi literature in Austin as the Klan staged a march on the Capitol in protest of President Johnson's Viet Nam policy. The literature
distributor was asked: "The Klan is too liberal for you boys, huh?"
The answer: "Yes" (108, p. 2).

Peripherally, the John Birch Society came into the picture during the time when the KKK was reviving in 1965 and the American Nazi Party seemed to be horning in on the act. The link in this instance was through Richard L. Boswell, 31, who permitted the Klan use of his Post Office Box 52783 in Houston for organizational purposes (107, p. 15). Boswell, an actuary, had been a member of the John Birch Society but, was "expelled," according to Philip Blair Jones, area coordinator of the Birch group.

Jones had said on April 24, 1965, at a meeting attended by the author, that the John Birch Society had no racial stand (109). In files made available to the author and members of the research team, a curious interconnection seemed to exist with a group and certain individuals who did have strong racial stands (110). Jones said Birch members or chapters may have whatever views they wish on the race question but that the organization as a whole has no stand. However, racial overtones seemed involved in an appearance in Houston in August 1965 of a speaker with Birch Society blessings. Cleon Skousen, former police chief of Salt Lake City, was listed in the John Birch Society Bulletin of September 1963 as a speaker for the society (110). He came to Houston for a talk before the Houston-Harris County Committee to Support Your Local Police. Dr. S.P.R. Hutchins, a Houston physician who headed the group and was reported to be a Birch member, wrote a letter to "citizens" announcing the appearance of Skousen at a meeting in the Rice Hotel on August 16
Dr. Hutchins stated that "possibly Communist inspired racial riots are getting to be a regular part of the American scene." He also referred to a report that attempts were being made to "import professional rioters from out of state" into Harris County.

At the talk by Skousen, an ex-FBI agent as well as former police chief, the question came up about the potential for racial violence in Houston. According to a team member who attended, Skousen said: "There doesn't seem to be, on the surface, much potentiality for violence -- but then, there didn't appear to be any trouble in Los Angeles, either. You here in Houston have one policeman per 5,000 population while Los Angeles had one per 1,000. There certainly is tension here, and if they (civil rights leaders and/or Communists) bring in some of those radical organizers, there'll be trouble, for sure" (112).

By the time of Skousen's speech, the John Birch Society in Houston had already had "private" racial trouble -- or what was interpreted by some of its members as that. It was also racial trouble in the sense that it became the reason for Jones to cancel interviews scheduled to be made by the author with certain members of the Birch group. These were Negro members, as Jones described them, who had constituted a chapter of the John Birch Society in Houston. The chapter was closed and the interviews cancelled after a fatal shooting May 24, 1965 of a Houston bus driver, Jack E. Edwards. The bus driver was a member of the Birch Society, and three Negro youths were charged with the crime. Jones said that the killing was interpreted by the Negro Birch members as being further evidence
of how their own lives and positions might be put in jeopardy if they revealed themselves in an interview (113). He said that they had already been threatened and, in one or two cases, physically assaulted for their Birch activities. This contributed, Jones said, to his closing the Negro chapter. Two Negro members of the biracial research team said they had heard reports of such a chapter and that if it existed, it was made up of "domestic help of River Oaks rich people, who had inculcated their own political philosophy into their maids and servants."

One Negro, dressed in a bus driver uniform, was among persons attending the funeral for Edwards, a 40-year-old father, at Pat Foley's Downtown Chapel of the Angels, 2802 Milam. Jones, an ordained Presbyterian minister, preached the sermon. Although he worked full-time as head of the local Birch unit, he helped organize new churches on weekends. At the funeral, he got into the subject of "less government and more individual responsibility." He then told those present, including the author: "Don't blame the Negroes in general" for what happened. He said it was the individual responsibility of the Negroes involved, and not the fault of all Negroes, that Jack Edwards was dead.

Jones also touched fleetingly on the question of identity in his closing remarks. "It thunders on every page (of the Bible)," he said. "Just do nothing if you want to be lost, brother." At 11:56 a.m., 56 minutes after the rites began, Jones, dressed in a black suit with white shirt and striped tie, closed the funeral by saying: "We're to be dismissed by that guy back there." "That
guy," a Pat Foley's funeral director, directed people out. One of
the first cars that lined up to make the trip to Bellville for the
burial had a sticker on the back bumper. It read: "LBJ/USSR."

Meanwhile, a 16-year-old Negro boy who soon got the nickname
of "bus driver" and his 14-year-old brother were transferred to the
Harris County Juvenile Home for the murder of Jack Edwards. Both
Burnie and Raymond McNeil said they had never heard of the John
Birch Society (114). But that was not surprising. They could not
even agree on their home address, their parents moved so often.
(See Part III for more details on the McNeil brothers.)

Across town, Raymond SX looked over the new, expanded head-
quarters at 3400 Polk Avenue of Houston's Black Muslims. By the
time the Labor Day weekend "crisis" came, three months later, he had
given the order to close ranks and cease open recruiting in the Third
and Fifth Wards. When contacted about presenting the Muslim's "side"
on what happened in Los Angeles, the local leader replied: "Check
with me next year -- after this thing has died down" (115).

Watts had repercussions in Houston by serving to intensify the
degree of racial tension. The very words, "Black Muslim," provided
a source of provocation and only 90 miles north, led to drastic
action.

Caught up in the action was one Mohaund Ibn, Muslim name of
Moses Godfrey, an inmate at Ellis Unit of the Texas Department of
Corrections. After entering the penitentiary May 28, 1960, to serve
an eight-year term for armed robbery, Godfrey gained the title of
"leader" of the Black Muslim "colony" in the Texas penal system.
The Ellis Unit, 16 miles northeast of Huntsville, is where all known Muslims were sent. It had the reputation of being the toughest unit of the 14 in the prison system.

When pressed for the city that Godfrey considered home, he said Houston. But Godfrey, in 1965, was a bitter American who wanted to leave not only Ellis, but also Texas and the United States. He wanted to go either to Cuba or to Kenya, to "his own people" (116). He claimed he had enough points for parole but was being discriminated against for being "Islamic."

On August 11, 1965, the day the race rioting started in South Los Angeles, Mohaund Ibn did not need to read about it or see it on television, after his eight hours on "turn row" chopping trees. He said: "They just came and got me and claimed I was talking, so they locked me up."

Q) Talking where? (Talking, except in specified locations, was prohibited at Ellis.)

A) In the building. We came in the building to eat after lunch and we sat there waiting till one o'clock for the whistle to blow to go to work, and that evening when I came in they told me to go down to the major's office.

Q) Which major?

A) Major MacMillan. And he locked me up in isolation.

Q) What is isolation, is it --?

A) Isolation is a place that they have separated where there is no light, no bed, you just sleep naked on a cold piece of steel.

Q) How does it differ from solitary?
A) The only difference from solitary is there ain't no difference.

Q) There is none at all?
A) There is none at all. Only you see a little light in solitary, that's all. In isolation, you can't see any; it's all dark.

Q) Which is worse, isolation or solitary?
A) Both them the same.

Q) How often do you get fed in isolation?
A) The white inmate, the Spanish inmate -- he can get his clothes and he can get two meals a day. But if you are a black man, you get nothing but bread and water and something that they call a meal which amounts to a sandwich.

Q) Every day?
A) No. You get bread and water for three days and after that third day, that's when they give you a sandwich.

Q) Well, that's solitary, isn't it?
A) It's solitary for the black man. It's the same.

Q) How long did you stay in isolation?
A) I stayed six days. Right after the riot, they let me out -- after the completion of the disturbance.

Q) Do you think the Black Muslims had anything to do with the Los Angeles riot?
A) We believe in peace, not violence.

In Houston, Black Muslims told Negroes that the "white devils" got what was coming to them in Watts (89). And some believed it. The man waiting to see a doctor about his hernia believed it when he
said, "hell, yes," the riots were justified. On this point, the KKK, the Citizens Council, the American Nazi Party and the John Birch Society could not disagree more with the Negro.

But what all shared in their respective stands was not only a source of possible incitement but, more deeply, an image of the Negro that was broadcast widely enough to reach even the lowest socio-economic levels in Houston. The way each regarded the Negro and the role it wanted him to play must be examined to illustrate the more subtle influences behind the racial unrest. The Muslims' image of the Negro is certainly not the KKK's. But the two complement, for in their extreme positions the Muslims see all white men as enemies and the Klan regard all Negroes as lower animals.

Mohaud Ibn had only to feel the top of his head to be reminded of what the white man had done to him. He and the other Muslim convicts wore shaved heads in the manner of marked men. Mohaud Ibn said the white man had not only robbed the Negro of an identity, but forced on him an image that was insufferably abject. Had this image been confined behind the double row of high, electrified fences surrounding Ellis Unit, the little man with the Islamic name would have been irrelevant to what was happening in Houston. But it went right over the barbed wire topping the fences and circulated among Third Ward Negroes, Fifth Ward Negroes, Acres Homes Negroes and all others who saw themselves in the eyes of white people as dangerous or demanding or simply as "niggers" who should keep their place.

Whichever it was, the role was beginning to be rejected and this rejection was playing an important part in the Houston story.
A. The "Nigger" Role

"You're a smart nigger. Take off your hat."

J. U. Spradley, 28, reached up to take off his hat.

"Leave your hat on, nigger."

Now it was the second policeman talking. He said leave the hat on. His partner said take it off.

"I can't do both," Spradley said.

"Don't get smart, smart nigger," the first policeman said.

Each time he heard the word "nigger," Spradley felt a surge of anger. It was not that the insult was new to him. He had just been away from it awhile -- but not so long that he did not remember that he was expected to keep his place. His "place" was pretty much decided at birth. He was born in Baytown, Texas; graduated from the Negro high school there; finished two years at Prairie View A & M, a state Negro college; and he knew that to many white people in the Houston area in 1955, his one and only role and image was as a "nigger."

To the two policemen who had put him in their patrol car, he was a "smart nigger." This they agreed on. What they went to great pains to disagree overtly about was whether he should or should not remove his hat while in their patrol car.

There was also the problem with his hands. He was told by the
officer who insisted he remove his hat that he should keep his hands between his knees.

He knew the two white men were baiting him, but he kept from saying what he wanted to say: "Look, you bastards, you're determined to make me act the part you have cut out for me. You're determined I'm going to prove to you that I am a 'smart nigger' by sassing you or 'failing to obey an officer.' I'll rot in hell before I give you the satisfaction."

So Junior Spradley, a tall, well-built Negro citizen of the United States, dropped his eyes, kept his hands between his knees and vowed that he would not lose his temper. Ten years later, when he recounted this episode as his introduction to living in Houston (117), he found reason to be grateful for the fact that there were two policemen baiting him that spring afternoon instead of one.

"I knew then, as I know now, that I would never let any one man, white or black, treat me like that. It was just a question of two against one that kept me from doing something that day that I felt very much like doing -- and that was beating hell out of someone for calling me a 'smart nigger.'"

At one time in his life Junior Spradley would have accepted the "nigger" label as a role from which he could not expect to escape. His father had lived with it. His mother had. So before he entered the Army to fight in Korea, he had no reason to believe that he would not have to live with it also.

But the Army did something to Junior Spradley. He found in the push on Pusan that the blood of the Negro was the same color as the
blood of the white man. He found that the color of a soldier's skin could hardly be distinguished in the cold mud of a battlefield where race was as irrelevant as the price of eggs in China. If Spradley had not found affirmation in his own human value, completely apart from the question of color, he might have gone on accepting the faceless image that his father and mother in Baytown, Texas, had learned to live with all their lives. But Spradley found affirmation if for no reason than the Army let him know that he had intelligence, leadership potential and the ability to become a platoon sergeant. In Korea, when he earned his three battle stars, no one cared what color was beneath the mud, and he almost forgot that back home he could ever be considered a "smart nigger" by people whose flag he was fighting under.

But "smart nigger" he was, because after working all day in a hot cleaning plant on Westheimer Avenue in Houston, Texas, he boarded a city bus in the late afternoon and dared to take the only vacant seat, which happened to be beside a white man.

It did not even occur to him that when the driver made motions toward the back of the bus through the big mirror in front, he was being summoned to account for "breaking the law." And it did not occur to him that when the bus stopped beside a patrol car at a red light that the two policemen who got out were boarding the bus to remove one J. U. Spradley, 28-year-old veteran of the Korean war and citizen of the United States.

But now he knew, as he was riding to jail with one officer telling him to take his hat off and the other one saying to keep it on,
that he had not escaped the role of "nigger."

Ten years later J. U. Spradley was manager of a five-chair barber shop at 2916 Rosedale. It was next door to a Third Ward grocery store where a Negro named Eugene "Lucky" Hill was shot to death as the aftermath of being accused of stealing a barbecued chicken, which he not only did not steal but never had in his possession (118). Spradley watched the white police who gathered at the scene after the shooting -- after one of their fellow officers, also white, fired three bullets from a .45 caliber revolver into the chest, arm and aorta of the man nicknamed "Lucky," outside the "supermarket" owned by a white man named Mixon. Spradley had never even talked with a white policeman after his own brush with the law, after spending two hours in city jail 10 years ago while his wife was contacted and came to bail him out on a $25 disorderly conduct charge.

But standing at the barber shop window, Spradley remembered his role as a "smart nigger," and when he saw the buttons being passed out, he went outside and took one. It read: "I believe in

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* Hill had in his possession a loaf of bread from the grocery store next door where a cashier thought he had slipped a barbecued chicken under his jacket. In the bag with the bread was a cash-register receipt showing he had paid for the loaf. The grand jury investigation of the shooting was curious if for no other reason than the loaf was not claimed by authorities as evidence. The manager of the bar, which was where Hill was located by the officer who shot him -- and which was also next door to Mixon's grocery -- still had the bread after the grand jury no-bill was announced. He considered putting the loaf on display "as a reminder of the whole sorry mess," but decided the reminder might be too inflammatory. In Appendix B, there is a copy of a protest statement circulated against the grocery store, which changed owners two days later.
human dignity." He pinned it on his white barber's jacket in front of a white officer who looked to Spradley as if he wanted to say "smart nigger" but decided not to. Ten years had changed some things.

"Like what?" Rev. Leon Everett was asked later (94). Everett, pastor of the Jerusalem Baptist Missionary Church, had emerged as one of the Negro leaders who took a protest of the "Lucky" Hill shooting to the police chief and then the mayor.

"Like how much a Negro will express what he feels," the 43-year-old preacher answered.

"What brought the change?"

"Several things, I believe. One of them was the Civil Rights Act of 1964 and a new generation of Negroes who simply aren't willing to accept the traditional 'nigger' role."

A statewide survey of public opinion, conducted over the past 20 years, reflected the change in what Negroes were willing to accept. For instance, in 1947 "The Texas Poll" showed that most Negroes agreed with "the overwhelming sentiment of the white population" that an equal but separate "first-class" university should be established in the state for "colored students" (119). Only two years earlier, 50 percent of white adults in Texas indicated opposition to letting Negroes even vote (120). In 1956 after the U. S. Supreme Court decision of 1954, the majority of white Texans were still against letting Negroes attend the same schools as white children (121). And when the racial confrontation occurred at Little Rock High School, the majority of whites said schools should be closed rather than have soldiers upholding integration orders (122). In that same poll
in 1957, 50 percent of Texas Negroes said they felt use of federal troops was necessary. Only 29 percent favored closing the schools.

And so the pendulum continued to swing. In terms of rejecting the traditional "nigger" role, there was no poll that Reverend Everett could cite, but the rejection was clearly growing. In saying that most Negroes are not willing to accept the role, Everett was expressing what had been said by a number of Negroes not only on the grand scale of a Martin Luther King speaking from a national forum but also by the Junior Spradleys and the Ennis Wilsons (95) in the back room of the Magnolia Barber Shop on a street in Houston, Texas, that has no greater distinction than being the place where the very undistinguished life of an ex-convict and ex-Marine named "Lucky" Hill came to an ignominious end. If it were true that Negroes no longer would accept the "traditional 'nigger' role," what did this mean in terms of any increase in racial tension? What it appeared to mean was that the provocation threshold of Negroes had dropped in direct proportion to their refusal to accept a former role and their insistence on reaching for an identity of their own. Roles revolve around the expectations of others toward the behavior of an individual or group (124, 125). Identity, as mentioned previously in this study, refers not only to some appreciation of one's self as a separate entity but also to an awareness that one has the power, the ability, to act in his own right. It may not be the way that others want him to act. It may not be in accordance with the role of the individual, based on the expectations of others. When the divergence between what is expected and what is
enacted reaches a certain point, there is provocation if not conflict.

When "back to Africa" tickets for "coons" are circulated in public places where Negroes are sure to see them, the provocation increases as a function of the number of Negroes who refuse to put up with a "coon" role. The danger of an American Nazi Party, which circulated such tickets in the restless summer of 1965 (Appendix B), lies not so much in the size of membership, which is small, as in the power to provoke through references to roles that are increasingly rejected. If the Negro is provoked into seeking his identity through violence, through blatant expression of the power of physical action, then the potential for race riots increases accordingly. Provocations, it may correctly be argued, have been greater in the past, but awareness of them has not been -- or the Negro's refusal to tolerate them.

As mentioned in Part I, some other sources of provocation during the summer of 1965 came from the Ku Klux Klan and the Black Muslims. The KKK provocation was not a cross burning on the front lawn of a Cliff Richardson as in the 1920s, but an insistence on an image that an increasing number of Negroes rejected. It was more than role "strain" that Goode describes (123). It was a case of Negroes wanting to make overt a kind of latent role (124) that whites resisted. The "normative" controls that Parsons (125) sees as part of role function, were beginning to be changed by the Negroes themselves.

The rejection all across the land was more open now, as even
the older Negroes were reminded by the daily headlines of rebellion from Selma to Watts. "That old stuff about accepting your lot on this earth and getting your reward in heaven is not swallowed any more," said Richardson (104). "A new generation of Negroes have gotten in the last five years more than any of us older ones got our race in a lifetime. And it came from a boldness that is going to continue to grow."

So when the Klan opened its rally outside Houston with songs of mockery and insult, no Negroes had to be present for there to be provocation. The theme of the insult was already in the Negro community, transmitted not only by literature but also the actions of every white person who insisted that the "nigger" role be continued. One piece of circulating Klan literature was a statement of "The Principles of the United Klans of America" (127, Appendix B exhibit). Under the tenent entitled "We believe in white supremacy," the statement is made that "America is a white man's country and should be white-man governed. Yet, the Klan is not anti-Negro; it is the Negro's friend..." Dr. J. M. Edwards, Grand Dragon of the Louisiana KKK who shared the speaker's rostrum with Imperial Wizard Robert Shelton at the Houston rally, echoed the kind of "friend" the KKK is to the "nigra." He asked the cow pasture crowd to remember that the Negro cannot help what he is, that he is the victim, for one thing, of two "congenital" diseases -- sickle cell anemia and syphilis. Dr. Edwards is a chiropractor. Sickle cell anemia is a genetic anomaly found chiefly in Africa, where it protects its "victim" against malaria. Syphilis, of course, is an
acquired disease for which white skin offers no protection and dark skin no particular susceptibility.

But if Dr. Edwards was unscientific in his analysis of what makes the Negro as he is, he was no further off base than was the Imperial Wizard himself. Shelton said that when God made humans, he got mixed up and forgot to throw in the Negroes until the third or fourth day of creation when he already was down to making animals (128). This absurdity could be dismissed as of little consequence if it did not reflect a basic theme in the "nigger" image that was still being foisted off on the Junior Spradleys in 1965. The Klan tenents state: "Let the white man remain white, the black man black, the yellow man yellow, the brown man brown, and the red man red. God drew the color line and man should so let it remain" (127).

The color line, however, must be more than skin deep for the "nigger" image to endure. It must perpetuate the myth that the Negro is an animal with different blood. His kiss is "The Kiss of Death," which was the title of another piece of inflammatory literature that found its way into the Third and Fifth Wards in the summer of 1965 (129, Appendix B exhibit).

And from an opposite quarter there was the issue of role and image being raised in an inflammatory manner. The Black Muslims told Negroes in Houston, as elsewhere, that they should adopt a role of ascendancy based on inherent superiority. According to the Muslims the "white devils" are on the side of "unrighteousness" and war will come as a showdown with the "lost-found" members of the nation of Allah, who are on the side of righteousness (130, 131,
At Ellis Unit, in the Texas Department of Corrections' Muslim colony, Lee 2X was asked about the preparations for the war (132).

Q) Do the Muslims have a "battle" unit?
A) We have a "defense" unit.

Q) Is that the so-called Fruit of Islam?
A) Yes.

Q) Who's in that?
A) Muslims who are specially trained for defense.

Q) Trained in what way?
A) In handling weapons and in Judo and Karate.

Q) Does the fact that they are trained in weapons mean that the Muslims have a storehouse of arms?
A) Only enough to take care of ourselves.

Q) You mean if there is trouble, the Muslims are prepared to meet it?
A) Yes.

Q) But they won't start it?
A) That's right.

Q) What happens if the black man continues to be provoked by the white man but not physically attacked -- will the Fruit of Islam be used to strike back?
A) That remains to be seen.

Lee 2X is a second-generation Muslim, a rather rare kind of Black Muslim, considering the national movement, formed in the 1930s,
did not penetrate Texas until after World War II (133). His last name is Brotherton, and his father was a Dallas liquor store operator until he became converted to Islam and gave up whiskey to sell groceries. His son was in state prison for an armed robbery in which a white policeman was shot. Lee 2X said he regretted the shooting and that he was sorry about the robbery, not because he was breaking "white man law" but because Islam did not sanction that sort of behavior either.

But beneath the peace preached by the *Muhammad Speaks* circulating in the Negro neighborhoods in the summer of 1965, Muslims in Houston stood on street corners and talked of "action." At Little York Road and West Montgomery Road, ten blocks from where Charles Williams was shot on August 27 in Acres Homes, the hot tamale man slipped to his customers invitations to join the Muslim activities.

Back at Ellis, Mohaund Ibn, better known to prison authorities as Moses Godfrey or simply Number 157955, spoke of an identity based on inherent superiority (116). In direct contrast to the anthropologic opinion of Imperial Wizard Shelton about the order in which whites and Negroes were made, Mohaund Ibn said the black man came first.

"Black is the first and true color," he said. "Everything derives from it."

He was asked: "Did the black man himself -- as opposed to just the color of black -- come first?"

"Yes."

"How about white, and the white man?"
"White and the white man came later."
"Derived from the black and black man?"
"Yes."

A conviction of being primary brings a strength and identity all its own. But how many Negroes share the conviction of a Mohaund Ibn? In this study of racial tension, as it relates to the issue of identity, the more pertinent question was: How many may quest violence as an assertion or affirmation of identity?

In a eulogy to the "freedom fighters" who rioted in Los Angeles, magazine writer Daniel H. Watts said, "Black manhood at long last asserted itself, giving back the lie that we were cowards, lazy and indifferent to our fate at the hands of the white racist" (134).

Cowards, lazy, indifferent: Is this an image derived from the mirror in the white man's eyes? Is it the "nigger" role rejected by the Junior Spradleys? Whatever the answer, this much seemed clear: Expectations are at the heart of the question of Negro behavior. Some of the expectations of the white man toward the Negro have been examined in this section. But of equal importance is the change in expectations of the Negro toward his own fate. For, as suggested earlier, if those expectations bring behavior that diverges sharply from the role the white people of Houston, or any other city, want to assign the Negro, then conflict is inevitable.
B. The Change in Expectations

When J. U. Spradley pinned on the button given to him at the shooting of "Lucky" Hill, it did not occur to him to equate human dignity with the "assertion of Black manhood." Yet this is an equation one Negro commentator said was involved in Watts:

We asked for jobs. You (the white man) gave us marches and circuses. We asked for freedom; you gave us paper (so-called civil rights bills) rather than enforcing the constitution, which guarantees rights for all American citizens, Black and white. We asked for human dignity (assertion of Black manhood); you imposed on us cowards and social degenerates as our so-called leaders. Yes, white America, the shame of Watts is all yours; you created the Black ghetto by your arrogance, apathy and by your defecating in our faces and trying to convince us it is sugar (134).

The manhood theme ran through the expectations of both Los Angeles and Houston Negroes, as expressed in their own mass media. In Houston, the South's largest Negro newspaper, Forward Times, said the "mood of the modern Negro" is such that "HE NEEDS HIS CITY OFFICIALS TO HELP HIM BE A MAN" (135). The editorial went on to say, in lower case as well as capital letters, that if the Negro is not helped to be a man, "his emotions will boil. It will serve no purpose to talk about 'logic' and 'right' when a hurt man gets his emotions all boiling over. When enough men boil at the same time, the city catches on fire....Houston can't afford to catch on fire."

The question here is the relationship between "boiling" and expectations. Junior Spradley "boiled" when he expected as much human decency as the Army had shown him but instead received a "smart nigger" insult. Rev. William A. Lawson, another ex-service-
man who sampled worlds beyond his native continent, placed much emphasis in that restless summer of 1965 on the frustration of the Negro who had gained respect in the Army only to return home to find that he was still just a "boy" or a "nigger" (13). The result of this kind of welcome home, as Lawson saw it, was not direct aggression on the part of the Negro ex-GI, but the "injection of a poison" into his offspring. The white hatred and open hostility now found among some of the Negro youth today was attributed by Lawson to the suppressed rage passed on by fathers who left the service as men and became "boys" at home.

Expectations of manhood seem a doubly potent theme since it may well involve the frustration of the male Negro toward the Negro matriarch. Historically, it was often the female Negro who provided what anchor there was in the Negro home. In 1965, almost one-fourth of Negro families were still headed by females (136, p. 9). For the Negro man to be caught between being called "boy" by white people and regarded as ineffectual within his own race as a provider could well feed the fires of frustration. Now the frustrations were being more openly expressed and Negroes were demanding "manhood" status.

And in Houston some Negroes were also expecting -- almost as if by federal decree -- to gain an identity through acquiring jobs with titles and status. The magical key was held by the Department of Commerce with its manpower development training. Hotel maids were magically to become file clerks. Porters were to become machinists overnight. And there was to be pie in the sky for all.

The clearest analysis of this fallacy was spelled out by a
Negro counselor who had the thankless job of placing the trainees in positions called for on their "graduation" certificates (137).

I think it's an old story that when you raise the level of aspirations of people and you really don't give them the necessary training to go with it, you do nothing but cause frustration, increased frustration.

To give you an example of what I am talking about, I often have cases of young ladies who are working in some menial task, such as a laundress or linen sorter making approximately $35 a week after five years on the job. Then someone introduces one of these girls to the idea of taking the manpower development training course in clerk-typing.

Since the girl sees this as a way to get out of working in the laundry and upgrading herself, she immediately quits her job, passes the minimum tests for admission to training and sets out to take on a new identity. For six months she is banging at a typewriter. Then the class is over and she is told she is now a typist. It says so on the certificate she is given.

Some of these young ladies come out of this class typing 37, 40, 42 words a minute. However, this is non-corrected. When you correct their spelling, then the one who is at 40 is actually typing about 35 words per minute. But she is of the opinion that she is a typist, and she isn't the least bit interested in returning to the laundry.

What this girl does is to proceed to be interviewed at various companies for a job of typist. But she is turned down by every one. There is no explanation given other than she is unqualified, which is the truth. But this girl, and all the ones like her, can't accept this. She knows she is a typist because she went to this course and she's told everyone she's now a typist and not a laundry worker. So the hostility begins to build and these young people decide they are being discriminated against by the interviewing companies because of race. These young people become prey for some of our more militant extremist groups. Because all that's been done by the training program is to create an extremely frustrated person -- a person who will not return to a laundry situation. She's already told all the girls still there that she's never going to fold anyone else's sheets anymore. She's going to work in an office and be somebody.

To "be somebody" is what it means to have an identity. A "somebody" does not have to be a celebrity -- only someone who has gained
recognition sufficient to be regarded as a person in his own right. He cannot be ignored, as a "nobody" can. He must be dealt with. "We're tired of being nobody," said Martin Luther King after the riots in South Los Angeles (138). But can everyone be somebody?

"More and more are trying," said a Negro Houston physician, Dr. A. E. Bowie (139). "Now that Negroes increasingly expect to have equal opportunities with white people, they are finding that the pressure to succeed is greater. More is expected of the person who truly is given equal opportunity to achieve. From the standpoint of demands on the individual and the effects these have on his health, you could argue that there are disadvantages to having equal opportunity as well as to not having it."

To succeed in achieving an identity -- of acquiring the power to require the acknowledgement of others -- has psychological benefits that may be completely apart from what that success means in bringing material comfort to a person's life. But the material cannot be overlooked, and the line between it and the psychological comfort of the individual receiving it is not an easy one to draw.

The Negro counselor who had to find jobs for inadequately trained typists saw an example of this psychological-material interplay in the meaning of integration to Negroes.

...to the middle-class Negro it means a chance for these people to take their daughters and wives and sons to the better restaurants in the city and let them know what it is to sit in a nice restaurant. I think for the lower-class group it means a chance to try to come up and get some of the things that these people really have almost forgotten that they could obtain. It means for a mother -- who knows she can't send her son to college -- a school like San Jacinto where he can learn refrigerator or air-conditioning
repair. It means a chance to get some of those things that she sees her middle-class Negro friends enjoying and one day, maybe, to actually get up on their level. To these people it means all types of dreams.

Dreams change along with expectations. At least they seemed to be changing in Houston in 1965. But many expectations, as well as dreams, die hard. And as long as they resist change, perhaps by being so deeply embedded into generations of Negroes, they continue to influence behavior. Many Negroes in Houston in 1965 continued to resent police authority. The expectations toward authority, particularly the police, contained distrust and continued disenchantment. And in too many cases, the distrust and disenchantment continued to be justified.

But impressions toward authority, as the counselor pointed out, cannot be considered as being the same among all Negroes in any given city (137).

I think the Houston Negro has as many different impressions of authority as you would find as many different persons in the authority that they come in contact with.... This is again a question that must be broken down according to the socio-economic class of the person. I think we will all pretty much agree that the middle-class Negroes, just like any middle-class people, accept authority because they respect authority and because they use authority themselves.

The lower-class Negroes, on the other hand, like most any lower-class people, resent authority because they have never really been able to -- as they see it -- derive anything from someone in authority. To them, someone in authority means someone who is going to take something from you, who is going to boss you around, who is going to push you around, who is going to treat you with as many indignities as they can. I think, by and large, this is their opinion of authority.

But he went on to say that the lower-class Negro's hostile expectations toward the push-you-around kind of authority do not
extend to all kinds of authority. He referred specifically to ministers as a type of authority that the lower-class Negro is more inclined to accept than is the middle-class person.

I think this difference can be explained by the fact that, by and large, we middle-class Negroes are not as deeply involved in religion as some people on lower socio-economic levels. Some lower-class Negroes still use their minister as not only one who gives him the word of God but also a counselor, a loan company, a marriage consultant. When the minister tells them something, they listen.

But even this is changing. There are lower socio-economic Negroes in the city who are now so far removed from the mainstream of American life that they have no sustained contact with any institution or figure of authority. There were Negro children interviewed in this study who hardly knew their parents, much less their ministers. The McNeil boys, held in the murder of the Birch Society bus driver, vaguely recalled they had gone to church about two Easters earlier (114). Mary Ely Jones, 17-year-old Negro girl held at the county juvenile home for "assault," could not remember when she was last in a church (140). Edgar and Ester Sonier, 15-year-old Negro twins in detention simply because no one wanted them at home, had no influence of a minister in their lives (141). The same was true of Larry Burks, 13, whose only attachments were at the detention home, where he kept coming after running away from home repeatedly (142).

Whatever expectations, then, that some lower-class Negroes might have toward their ministers as "rescuers," did not exist in the case of these Negro youngsters. Burnie McNeil's expectations were that he was going to the electric chair for killing the bus
"Do you believe God will save you?" he was asked.

"No."

"Do you believe he should?"

"I don't think he will."

"Do you believe he is a white man's God?"

"I believe he is white, if that's what you mean."

If this sounds like the note of hopelessness that has long permeated not only the expectations but the whole lives of some lower socio-economic Negroes (60), then there is a legitimate question in asking: "Where is the change?" The change, in expectations and intentions, was detectable in 1965 on other levels, some of which have already been indicated. The apparent decline of influence by the church is of concern to the extent that if ministers possibly act as any brake on violence, then the brake seemed to be failing. Expressions of violence often depend on controls and catalysts within the culture. Rising frustration from failure to fulfill new expectations in status could be pointed to as a catalyst toward potential violence. Another that seemed present in the summer of 1965 was the intention of letting the white man know what the Negro expected concerning sexual conduct.

Historically, the implicit assumption by some white men has been that the Negro is a lustful animal from whom white women must be protected (143, 144). In the South, there was the practice of white men having sexual relations with Negro women; but Negro men having intercourse with white women was unthinkable. By 1965, in
in Houston at least, there were Negroes saying that the whites had better start letting their women alone. Here was the way one Negro truckdriver saw the situation (145):

We used to watch white men trooping in and out of this place downtown where there were some Negro women -- you know, white men just after our women. They think that we want their women, but they want ours, and this is going to have to change if they don't want trouble. If they'd just let things alone and stop coming into our neighborhoods looking for our women, there won't be any trouble. A colored woman can hardly walk down the street in some areas without a white son-of-a-bitch trying to pick her up. We expect this to change -- or there's going to be some real violence.

Here, then, was an expectation by the Negro toward the behavior of the whites. Implicit in it was the declaration that Negroes no longer were going to be passive recipients of images and roles cut out by whites regarding Negro sexuality. More explicit was the warning that the Negro male was going to stand up like the man he has always wanted as his identity and assert protection over his own women.

But for whatever reason, there were growing signs of assertion in Houston in the summer of 1965. The Junior Spradleys were not only announcing their rejection of a "nigger" role and an image they had always hated. They were also declaring that they were questing an identity of their own making, and if the whites continued to expect the Negroes to behave as before, then those very expectations could compound the potential toward violence.

Violence breeds in many soils. The one analyzed in this study is that which spawns rootlessness, family fragmentation and pressures from the complexity of urban life. It is one thing for a person, or a group of people, to refuse continued acceptance of a
role or image. It is another to seek an identity. The refusal may combine with the search to produce violence. In Part II, specific examples have been presented of Negroes in one city showing various degrees of rejecting the "nigger" role and the expectations of whites about how they should act. The examples of rejection are meant to serve as a backdrop for the data that will be presented on the association between identity problems and attitudes toward violence. The sanction of violence will be found to exist in direct proportion to the magnitude of the identity problems. But before the findings from the field are presented on these problems, there must be a theoretical framework for receiving them. The theory formulated and the model developed will also be used to help account for the empirical findings.
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III -- THEORETICAL FORMULATIONS AND MODEL

Man is a wanderer. Man is lethal. Eiseley (146) took these two concepts and put his finger on a formulation basic to the study being presented here. Its usefulness comes from tying together the two fundamental themes of the study: identity and violence.

In presenting the theoretical formulations and model of the study, it is hoped that some sense of unity will be apparent between the kind of broad generalizations taken from Eiseley as a foundation and the specific factors selected for a framework to contain empirical data. The broad generalizations will be sketched out only in enough detail to suggest that the problem of the Negro is no less a problem of all mankind in a sense. Its theme has cut across all lines by which man separates himself from man and has been taken up by authors from St. Matthew to Sartre, from Shakespeare to Spock. Brief stops will be made along this long and ancient road only to show how the specific avenue of theory for this particular study was constructed.

Eiseley started at the beginning -- during that dim distant past when man apparently came to a vague and gradual realization that he could not rely on some built-in instinct to define himself or his home on this alien planet. Foxes do not need to be told about their holes, or birds about their nests. But, asks Eiseley, what does man use as "radar" for directing him home? Where is home?
Home is where and what man decides it should be. For man, even Homo habilis two million years ago had such decision-making power (147). More than that, he developed the capacity to adapt to all sorts of homes in all sorts of places. And this very power of adaptation, warns Eiseley, is central to the lethal factor in man. Negroes have learned to adapt to conditions where survival itself has taken a large part of their energy and ingenuity (148). Eiseley suggests that the increasingly lethal technology and trying social arrangements that man continues to make for man may prove his undoing. And if man does return to the dust from which he apparently came, then he will do so before discovering just what he was here for and why his identity continued to elude him.

"Identity" is a word that Erikson so rightly complains has been overused (149). One function of the present section is to spell out the specific meaning of identity as it relates to the kind of violence investigated in this study.

Meanwhile, additional looks will be taken at how others have connected identity with themes of violence, even though the themes in many cases are more implied than overt. In nearly all instances, identity is equated with questions of "who am I?" or "what is my place in the sun?" or "how do I define myself?" As general and all-inclusive as these are, it has lately seemed the fashion not even to place identity into the flimsy framework of loose questions and just to assume that everyone knows what is meant by the term. Milton Rokeach spent six months researching the meaning of "attitude" and, when asked about "identity," agreed that it too could stand some
exhaustive content analysis (150).

But even if overuse has vitiated some of its meaning, identity strikes a cord with authors, if not all readers, as a fundamental human issue. Shakespeare gave it great attention in a number of plays, particularly Hamlet and Othello, as Stein and Vidich point out (151, pp. 17-33). It is interesting to note that violence plays a large part in both these dramas. Dostoevski, who handled plots of violence so deftly, also was equally skilled in subtly raising the issue of identity (152). And even modern dramatists, such as Arthur Miller, continue to ask similar questions about man's role, as in Death of a Salesman, when Biff said to his mother: "I just can't take hold, Mom. I can't take hold of some kind of life" (153).

This sketchy parade of writers in the world of fiction was introduced to repeat what some social scientists and philosophers have long said about the headstart that art seems to have on science. As Kaplan put it: "That novelists, poets and playwrights have had deeper insights into human nature than we have yet been able to bring into the laboratory is a truth of which, in this age of psychoanalysis, no one needs to be reminded -- except perhaps the professor of psychology" (154).

The existentialist philosopher seems to owe a particular debt to writers such as Dostoevski, particularly if he is concerned with the "no exit" theme of Sartre (16). Man's identity lies in the recognition, Sartre says, that there is no escaping anxiety or guilt or routine or pointlessness or any other aspect of existence. But
there is still choice within that existence and man defines himself by choosing. The importance of choice to the definition of identity, as used in this study, will be examined shortly. For now, it is suggested that obstruction of the freedom of exercising choice can lead to violence -- and often does.
A. Negroes Examine Identity

But getting still closer to the question of how the identity concept relates in a particular sense to the Negro, only a glance at the titles of books written by Negroes is sufficient to give some idea as to how important a theme identity is. There is Baldwin's plaint that *Nobody Knows My Name* (20), and Ellison's *Invisible Man* (19). There is the search for identity represented by Black Nationalism (155). Robert Penn Warren (156, p. 17) dwells on the word in stating: "I seize the word 'identity.' It is a key word. You hear it over and over again. On this word will focus, around the word will coagulate, a dozen issues, shifting, shading into each other. Alienated from the world to which he is born and from the country of which he is a citizen, yet surrounded by the successful values of that world, and country, how can the Negro define himself?"

One way to define it, as will be suggested here, is by violence. But at this point, a word of caution: At the very outset of this study it was stated that the identity concept would not attempt to be an all-inclusive theory accounting for violence. There are undoubtedly cultures in the world where neither identity nor violence is of central concern. There are undoubtedly various kinds of violence within the Negro "sub-culture" and American society as a whole that do not relate to identity crises or problems. This research is no more cross-cultural than it is cross-criminal. In using Eiseley's "back-to-the-beginning" look at identity, the warning must be made that the look is through the eyes of Western man --
particularly Western white man. The excuse for introducing such a far-reaching glimpse has already been stated -- it was an attempt to give some foundation, some roots, to the more specific formulations that follow.

For anyone interested in raising the question of how all-embracing the identity concept is to people of the world's cultures, anthropologists have cited a number of societies in which "rites of passage" include identity themes. Radcliffe-Brown tells of the initiation of boys into adult society among the Negrito in the Andaman Islands (157, p. 93). The fact that painful scarring accompanies the acquiring of adult status does not necessarily mean that violence is cross-culturally a companion to identity. Hoebel cites the "torture" of puberty rites among Australian and African tribes and notes that boys who go off in the bush return as men, even if they do come back with a few teeth knocked out (158, pp. 380-81).

Psychoanalysts have referred to the absence of any distinct rites marking a transition from one "identity" to another in this country. That there are "stages" through which an individual passes is a fact agreed upon not only by Shakespeare (159) but also psychiatrists, psychologists, "child specialists" and educators concerned with "human development." Havighurst, for instance, outlines six stages or "developmental tasks" ranging from birth to "later life" (160). Gesell posits a "cycle of growth" that includes four stages of six years each (161). Erikson himself, who has come to be most recognized for identity concepts, started out with eight
"problem" stages of life (162).

One element that all these stages or cycles or developmental tasks or identities has in common is this: At some point in the life of a child, he distinguishes himself from the rest of the world -- from people and objects in it -- by self-assertion. As long as he makes no assertion different from anyone else's, as long as he has no power to do so, he remains as indistinguishable a part of the world as a piece of furniture. In Freud's psychosexual stages of development, the first assertion of "I'm an individual in my own right" comes with the youngster's saying "no" to those more powerful. To the Freidians, this first "battle of wills" often comes over the issue of toilet training (163, 164). As long as the tot remains submissive to those in charge, as long as he postpones assertion and withholds the use of the word "no," he is virtually without an identity of his own. Alfred Adler (50), as mentioned earlier, placed much emphasis on the striving for power by an individual in an attempt to gain mastery of his world. This concept of power is applicable to the theory of identity stated here insofar as it relates to efforts at mastery and not to the inferiority complex that Adler stressed.

Identity, then, in the context used here, revolves around the demonstration of one's acting in his own right, asserting whatever power or ability he has. A basic postulate accompanying this concept is the idea that all efforts to block assertion, to suppress expression, to keep one from acting on his own, lead to frustration, hostility, and mounting potential violence.
If, for whatever reason, a group of people are deprived of an opportunity to act on their own behalf in choosing their homes, making an income to support a family, acquiring an education sufficient to deal with an increasingly complex world -- then the suggestion here is that such a group has no identity of their own. They are passive, faceless recipients in a world over which they have little or no control. The mere fact that a living creature, or group of creatures, constitutes a "cluster of sensations" from being on the receiving end of stimuli sent by others does not bestow identity -- as that concept is used in the positive sense of the present study.

Edman (165) illustrates a similar point by discussing identity in an anecdotal context. The dialogue that follows is between him and a student:

'Mr. Jeremy,' I say without preamble, 'I suppose you believe you exist.'

Young Jeremy looks at me quizzically. I feel he is wondering if this is what professors of philosophy are paid to do.

'Of course I exist,' he says, and I detect the slightest tone of impatience in his courteous and somewhat surprised tone.

'What makes you so sure?' I ask.

The large football player in the second row shifts his bulk impatiently in the seat too small for him, as if suddenly wondering what is going on here.

'Well,' says Jeremy, 'it's me. I mean I. I brought myself here.' The class smiles a little at that.

'How do you know it's you?' I say.

'I can pinch myself,' he says. The football player does
that very thing. Then he pinches his neighbor. I tap warningly on the table with a piece of chalk.

'I can feel my hands if I press them hard and I have a pain in the crick of my neck.'

'You mean you have sensations,' I say. 'But how do you know they're yours?'

'Well, whose else would they be?' asks Jeremy in great surprise.

'But who are you?' I insist. 'Simply this cluster of sensations at the present moment?'

Although psychology has good reason not to overlook philosophy, as Munroe (166, p. 20) notes, there is no intention to frame the theoretical formulations of this study in philosophical terms. But Edman's point about someone's being simply a "cluster of sensations at the present moment" is one reflected in the psychology and identity concepts of Erikson. The basic question involved is: Can a human being exist and have no identity?

Negro authors have talked so much about Negroes being faceless and invisible nobodies that there is the strong suggestion that no identity, in fact, does exist. Erikson seems willing to accept this way of looking at the problem so long as "an absence of identity" is equated with what he calls "negative" identity (149, p. 149). His own view is that the very absence, the very negation of identity, may be used by some Negroes as the central feature of an attempt at gaining "unity" and "wholeness." He cites the Black Muslims as among those who have taken the theme of how faceless the white man has made the Negro and has converted it into a "totalism" that offers a sense of integration and unity.

In Erikson's elaboration on "The Concept of Identity" as related...
to Negroes today, he touches on the difference between identity and roles. To confuse the two is to dilute the meaning of both. It has been attempted in the present study to reserve "identity" for use in a well-defined manner. As may have been noticed in Part II, the words "images" and "expectations," as well as "roles," appeared, but not "identity." The distinction, at least between roles and identity, follows that made by Erikson. He says "roles" are something that can be "played." A "mature psychosocial identity" is something that "presupposes a community of people whose traditional values become significant to the growing person even as his growth and his gifts assume relevance for them" (149, p. 149).

Roles are assigned behavior, in the sense that a culture has certain expectations toward an individual, or a group of individuals. To the extent that these expectations are met, the person or group is given a part to play in the culture. "Images," a word used in the previous part but not one commented on by Erikson, are categorical, summary impressions that people have toward others. They may be based on how well a role is played or on the prejudices of the observer toward the person or group that has a certain "image." In any event, as used in the present study, both roles and images imply a minimum amount of active, spontaneous self-assertion or thrust. Roles are given, and images follow. Identity, on the other hand, implies the "growth" and "gifts" the individual uses to act in his own behalf to "assume relevance" to others. In this assuming of relevance, recognition of the individual's very existence cannot be ignored. It can be as long as that individual plays interchange-
able roles, accepting images that may be based partly on his own behavior but mostly on stereotypes or prejudices held by the observer.

The "self-image" that is bandied about as part of the confusion with identity is viewed here as being based on the reflection back to the individual of what others think of him in terms of how he is playing his part. It is the product of both what he thinks about himself and what others do -- with the former being significantly influenced by the latter. As Munroe puts it (166, p. 274): "...it is also a reflection...of the role we think we play in our own world. Attitudes developed in interplay with our material and cultural surroundings tend to coalesce around the focus of our concept of our 'self,' which, after all, plays a constant role in our everyday activities and in important life decisions." The wish to be valued by others, as emphasized by Horney (58), is again a reflection of what other people think we should be, and to the extent that this is the basis for self-image or "idealized self," then it contrasts with identity by being passive and plastic rather than active and self-asserting.

None of what has been said to this point should be interpreted to mean that roles, images, self-images and expectations of others are not important. They are. But so is identity, and the attempt here has been to differentiate it from the other terms.
B. Some Elements of Identity

Before examining the three factors that were used in this study as an index to potential racial violence, an analysis seems in order of some of the components of identity. It will be seen that the factors that militate against identity do so because they are in opposition to the very components of the concept. The elements listed here are taken principally from Erikson and Rainwater, since these two have made recent examinations of the identity concept as it relates specifically to the Negro problem. Rainwater addressed himself exclusively to "The Negro Lower-Class Family" in his "Crucible of Identity" (148, pp. 172-216), and Erikson discussed Negro race relations in general. Erikson, writing from a more theoretical point of view, keeps returning to ideas of "unity" and "wholeness" as essentials in identity. Both imply a certain "permanence," as Erikson notes in his statement that identity is based on a "subjective sense of an invigorating sameness and continuity."

Erikson is careful also not to overlook "power" as being basic to identity. Since the definition of identity used in this study has a power orientation, it was gratifying to find that Erikson makes such an observation as this: "...surely, power, or at least the power to choose, is vitally related to identity" (149, p. 146). Erikson also makes the point, which has been mentioned earlier in this study, that "identity begins in the rituals of infancy" (149, p. 162). It has been posited here that one of these "rituals" is the training period when the child recognizes, perhaps for the
first time, that he can assert "power" by simply failing to comply
with the wishes of those around him.

Erikson talks about "dimensions" of identity, which may be a
better word than "elements." He speaks of a person experiencing
something that is identical in "the core of the individual" and also
in "the core of a communal culture." What seems to be involved here
is a sense of communality between the individual and the world
around him. The idea of communality is undeniably consistent with
concepts of unity and wholeness. Inconsistent are such conditions
as "alienation" and "disorganization," which Erikson sees in opposi-
tion to identity.

Rainwater, taking more empirical data, is even more concerned
with the fragmentation and disruption experienced by the lower-
class Negro. He discusses such sociological conditions as the "slum
ghetto," the poor police protection, inadequate schooling and medi-
cal service (148, p. 177). But he pays particular attention to the
effects of marital breakup and the difficulty in maintaining family
cohesion. In specifically referring to the "identity processes in
the family," Rainwater returns to the psychological concepts of
Erikson and talks about "self-realization coupled with a mutual
recognition." This description of identity is one that Erikson used
in a paper in 1959 (167). It serves once again to point up the es-
sential concept of identity requiring recognition from others. And
as has been suggested previously, such recognition comes from a
person having the power or ability -- and exercising it -- to act
in his own right and behalf as a separate entity.
Rainwater goes into detail on some of the effects of a "negative" identity. He says the lower-class Negro child is "constantly exposed to identity labeling by his parents as a bad person" (148, p. 204). Under the definition reserved for identity here, this labeling would be described in terms of "images," of what others "force" upon an individual who does not have the power to gain identity. Rainwater also refers to another kind of labeling in which one Negro may denigrate another by using the phrase, "nothing but a nigger like everybody else" (148, p. 205). Being "nothing" or "nobody" is at the far-end of the identity continuum or model to be presented. It connotes the lack of power or ability of an individual to assert himself as "somebody." In between being "nobody" and "somebody" is a range of identity strivings, which may be closer to the "nothing" end of the continuum than to the "something" end.

Both Erikson and Rainwater point to "technical skill" and material success as avenues toward achieving identity. Again, what is also being achieved is some degree of power. What happens when power continues to elude a person? What happens when a Negro has little or no power to determine where he lives, when he must move, how much control he has over his own family and community, and what level of resources are at his disposal to contend with in an increasingly urban and complex environment? These are basic issues associated with the three factors of mobility, anomie and complexity, which were used as measures of attitudes toward violence. Each of them, in other terms, were touched on by Erikson and Rainwater, as was the very problem of violence.
C. Identity and Violence

Identity formation, to Erikson, extends to integration of the person on many fronts, including the "constructive use of aggression." When aggression is blocked or repressed, it does not just disappear. It takes a more ominous form in the shape of potential violence. But latent violence can spring from other sources as well. Erikson talks of the "latent rage" that is "easily exploited by fanatic and psychopathic leaders," who promise a "wholeness" or unity through the "radicalism" and "totalism of such movements as the Black Muslims" (149, p. 164).

As a kind of release valve for violence, Erikson notes that "the rate of crime and delinquency in some Southern counties was reported to have dropped sharply when the Negro population became involved in social protest" (149, p. 165).

In one large Southern city, Soloman and co-workers (170) found that during a two-year period of active protests through civil rights demonstrations, there was a 31% reduction in the rate of aggravated assault. It was suggested that Negroes released "repressed" resentment by asserting themselves in "direct action" for civil rights. It is possible to attribute the decline in violence to a greater sense of communality and unity as well as to a diversion of more violent energy into safer channels.

Erikson takes the position that violence can be a means of "liberating" identity. He calls it "anti-social" identity (149, p. 168). By taking "the only way open to them," Negro delinquents and others
who have resorted to violence have used it to achieve "self-respect and solidarity." Erikson does not mention that violence also represents a blatant form of power, and if a person continually finds himself powerless in terms of controlling aspects of his own life, then he may use physical power to assert himself.

Rainwater views the lower-class Negro as living in what might be termed a culture of violence. Violence is about the only kind of power that is available to many. Children grow up seeing adults in the home hitting each other. Frustration builds up in the child, who soon starts adopting the same methods of violence as he has seen from adults. "To those living in the heart of a ghetto," Rainwater says (148, p. 205), "black comes to mean not just 'stay back,' but also membership in a community of persons who think poorly of each other, who attack and manipulate each other, who give each other small comfort in a desperate world. Black comes to stand for a sense of identity as no better than these destructive others. The individual feels that he must embrace an unattractive self in order to function at all."

Although Rainwater uses the word "identity" for the sense of belonging that Negroes in the slum family have to settle for among their own kind, he concedes that it is a "brittle" form that is constantly being attacked by those within the ghetto community. "Identity," then, is really no identity. Whatever self-assertion is made as part of expressing one's individuality is immediately challenged by someone using the same form of assertion -- namely, physical power or violence.
When violence becomes the chronic form of power used by an individual, it soon loses its effectiveness. The person is deprived of its use either by loss of his freedom, or he meets physical power that is just as strong or stronger than his own. Killing is the ultimate course of action if an individual sets upon a path of continuous violence. Killing may bring identity, but it is a self-defeating form.

Rainwater graphically describes what it is like to live in a Negro slum culture. It "provides many examples of techniques for seduction, of persuading others to give you what you want in situations where you have very little that is tangible to offer in return.... When the expressive strategy fails or when it is unavailable there is, of course, the great temptation to adopt a 'violent strategy' in which you force others to give you what you need once you fail to win it by verbal and other symbolic means" (148, p. 207).

There is no denying that the "violent strategy" is part of life in the Negro slum ghetto. But it is questionable that violence is a means of gaining identity if it loses its power as a form of self-assertion. If everyone carries a knife, if everyone slashes and cuts, then the only power that violence carries is to cut so deeply that you kill. And killing, as was just suggested, brings no more than a fleeting identity. The fact that violence has been so prevalent in the Negro ghettos is striking testimony to the lack of identity and non-physical power that members of the slum possess. Some of those who witness the chronic repetition of violence in the Negro lower-class soon begin treating the problem in terms of "just another nigger killing." The "nobodies" there are treated as though their lives
mean nothing. In Houston, it was not until February 4, 1965 that a jury assessed the death penalty to a Negro for killing another Negro. Bullock speaks eloquently of this callous acceptance of violence in his analysis of the Houston "murder problem" (68).

When violence becomes ingrained in the culture of a group of people, it hardly needs to be ascribed to any frustration-aggression hypothesis. Cross-cultural studies of violence have pointed up this fact (168). Berndt (169, p. 92) notes that among the Eastern Highlanders of New Guinea, a child is taught aggressiveness and violence as the admired way of life...both fear and aggression are deliberately fostered" (169, p. 405).

Violence, then, on the lowest socio-economic level of the Negro in the ghetto may be enculturated as well as linked to frustration. But one needs to ask why the ghetto ever came into being, what keeps it in existence and what effect comes from the fact that even though a person may live in the Negro slum, he is -- unlike the New Guinean -- aware that within the same general area there are people living much different lives. He does get some exposure to radio or television or a newspaper and from these can draw some conclusions that his culture of violence is not the way of life for all people.

It is this isolation of a group of people on an island within a larger culture that promotes identity problems. As long as the Negro lower-class can be considered "nothing" then members of the larger culture can rationalize inaction. But just because violence may lose its power within the Negro ghetto from overuse, there should be no suggestion that it will not be resorted to as a means to gain identity
from the larger culture. It is the larger culture that continues to sanction the very existence of the ghetto, but not the violence that lashes out from the slum in time of riot. The potential for that lashing out varies in direct proportion to the desperation of the ghetto to gain attention from the white culture. It is the hypothesis here that the more faceless or anonymous the Negro feels toward the white man, the more likely he will use violence to affirm his very existence and to establish some identity -- even if it is one of "killer" or "rioter." The word "feels" is underlined to emphasize the growing awareness that even the lower-class Negro has toward his status in the eyes of the white man. This awareness seems now to be spreading to recognition that bold behavior, if not outright violence, is the only way for the voiceless -- or the faceless -- to make themselves known.
D. Three Identity Factors as an Index of Violence

Mobility, anomie and complexity were chosen as a test for gauging potential violence because all three are viewed as reflecting a lack of power, and the lack of power is equated with lack of identity. As a theoretical construct, the three seemed to offer the promise of being psychological factors on which quantitative data could be obtained in the field. They act as an extension, or reflection, of sociological conditions -- such as housing problems, unemployment and inadequate education.

But what all three represent most basically is a lack of cohesiveness. Rootlessness from frequent moving (mobility), family fragmentation (anomie) and pressures from the effect of rural-to-urban shift (complexity) -- all reflect incohesion. At least, the position taken here is that this is true of the lower socio-economic-class Negro. A move from the farm to the city may mean the beginning of a "rags-to-riches" success story for the enterprising white youth. But for success to be possible, the opportunity, as well as the ability, to gain it must exist. Too often there has been little opportunity, and little ability, among lower socio-economic-class Negroes. A move to the city has only meant more complexities to cope with and little chance of acquiring the competency to do so. Without competency and mastery, an individual can hardly be expected to gain power -- or identity. So whereas the white person may benefit from a rural-to-urban shift, because of added avenues of power being available, a Negro may suffer from such a move because of added pressures but
little chance to gain the competency for meeting them.

As to why these should serve as an index of potential violence, the point has already been made that lack of power and identity is the common denominator to the three. If there are personal resources in one's life adequate enough to establish a home, a stable family and skills to meet the demands of urban living, then one has some degree of control over what happens to him. But if he is powerless in a non-physical sense -- if he has never had the opportunity or the encouragement to develop the resources necessary to establish roots and stability -- then he remains a piece of flotsam on the eddying surface of a turbulent world. And sooner or later, there will be the tendency to stop this floating, this abject and anonymous existence, by the assertion of physical power. In terms of identity, such an act is the equivalent of crying out: "Look! See me! I'm someone too."

The violence, as has been noted, wells up from many sources. It comes from the frustration of having little or no control over one's life. It comes from the "strategy of violence" that is part of the equipment necessary for survival in a faceless world. It comes from being on the outside looking in, from being a part of a larger world, yet so apart from it. It comes from being all the Clyde Griffiths that Theodore Dreiser described in An American Tragedy, from people who get just close enough to see that there is a better world on the other side but must use violence to try to break through to it.

The three factors of mobility, anomie and complexity each contributes in its own way to the frustration, the isolation and the sense
that there is a better world but it is more in sight than reach. Each is evidence of the impotency that characterizes not only one's own life but that of his parents as well. Moving from pillar to post, watching the disintegration of a family structure that is often crippled to begin with, running headlong into the congestion and impersonality of urban life -- all serve as reminders of how little control one has, of how anonymous and expendable. If he can establish himself as an individual in his own right, warranting notice from others in some small, minimal way -- then and only then can he claim to have identity. But to achieve even the lowest plateau of identity, he must have power to assert, to push himself out of the morass of the manswarm that remains known to no one.

The basic theoretical formulation here, then, is that MAC factors militate against identity, and to the extent that they do, they will serve as indices of potential violence. It will be seen that what was actually measured in the field study were attitudes toward violence, and how these correlated with mobility, anomie and complexity. It can be argued that attitudes toward violence are one thing and possessing potential violence is another. The only valid test for determining whether violence is really within a group of persons who say they sanction its use, would be to wait for each to explode. In a study designed to point up some of the possible avenues for preventing group violence, such as race riots, it is hoped that no one will want to wait for the explosion in order to confirm the hypothesis. It is suggested that there would be greater cause to distrust the difference between attitudes and potential behavior had the subjects disclaimed
sanction of violence. Even among persons who live with violence all around them, there is still some recognition of the fact that it is not a universally popular way of behaving. And for a person to say that he would sanction it in race relations when actually he would behave in an entirely different manner, is to make a response that deserves some questioning. But a conclusion on this point should be deferred, perhaps, until details of methodology and results are presented.

Before constructing a model out of the points already presented, it should be reiterated that no claim has been made that MAC factors are the only measures of potential violence. The precipitants and conditions of race riots that Liberson and Silverman (33) outline are also gauges, in a sense, of a failure to find identity, to achieve enough power to make oneself known. Living in a slum tenement, having no job, possessing little education -- all are signs of the stark absence of power. Examining the more psychological considerations of mobility, anomie and complexity is simply another way of pointing up how impotence breeds violence. But there is no contention here that a line can be drawn between the sociological and psychological factors that serve as precipitants and conditions of race riots. When Durkheim used the term "anomie," to describe the alienation of the individual from the group, he was discussing just as much psychology as sociology (171). The current study is not being presented as exclusively psychological or sociological -- it is hoped that it represents behavioral science collectively, with cultural anthropology being at least minimally represented.
E. A Model Based on MAC Factors

Identity is a process, not a fixed condition or an end state that some reach and others do not. In an early part of this study, the point was made that the identity concept is not an either-or proposition. In the sections that have just preceded, much reference was made to a lack of identity, but this was not meant to imply that a person either has it or he does not. "Lack of identity" is a relative term, the reference point varying with the group or the individual under study. In a racial context, "the lack" is relative to the position of members of the same culture who have identity. Some of these may be Negroes. The Black Muslims, with their power orientation, have identity -- what Erikson and Rainwater would call "negative" identity. Negroes who have gained technical skills and education that they can apply toward greater control of their own lives -- they too have a degree of identity. As earlier mentioned, there are gradations of identity falling between the "nobody" at one end and the "somebody" at the other. Since it will be insisted here that identity is a process, this means that an individual or a group may change positions at various points in the time along the road from "nobody" to "somebody."

The terms "nobody" and "somebody" also are relative -- meaning that they only denote the degree of recognition that one has gained as an individual with his own identity. As noted earlier, a "somebody" does not have to be a celebrity, and a "nobody" does not have to be a person completely unknown.
Any model of identity must provide for the elements of "unity" and "wholeness" that Erikson talks about and the concept of power. There must also be a way to account for the effect of mobility, anomie and complexity on keeping a person closer to the "nobody" end of the scale. With these requirements in mind, what kind of model can be constructed for presenting a schematic conception of identity and MAC factors? Figure 1 represents one possibility.

In the construct illustrated by Figure 1, the MAC factors are represented by the vectors $P_{1}$, $P_{2}$ and $P_{3}$ — each denoting varying degrees of powerlessness. The elements that make for being "some-body" are represented by the unity/wholeness vectors $P_{1}$, $P_{2}$ and $P_{3}$ — each denoting varying degrees of power. The "cohesion" designation was chosen for the power side of the model to point up the contrast with mobility, anomie and complexity, each of which suggests a fragmentation that is the very opposite of cohesion. Erikson's "unity" and "wholeness" plus his "communality" would be part of the cohesion vector.

It is important to emphasize that each vector represents all those forces that make for mobility, anomie and complexity (on the Ps side) and for cohesion (on the P side). The point here is that both the Ps vector and the P one stand for a combination effect. If an attempt were made to specify how much of the Ps vector stood for mobility, how much for anomie and how much for complexity, then individual cases making up the group would have to be examined. By adding up the excessive moves in all the cases, plus the number with varying degrees of family fragmentation and the number of rural-to-
Increasing Degrees of Power and Identity

Increasing Degrees of Powerlessness and Lack of Identity

Highest Violence Potential (HVP)

Lowest Violence Potential (LVP)

**FIGURE 1**

A MODEL FOR IDENTITY AND POTENTIAL VIOLENCE, USING MOBILITY, ANOMIE AND COMPLEXITY AS A UNITARY INFLUENCE
urban shifts, a comparison could be made as to how much of the vector should stand for M, how much for A and how much for C. The risk in this sort of breakdown, however, is the implication that moves, split families and urban pressures all can be equally weighted. Each can be examined in terms of its correlation with attitudes toward violence, as will be seen in the next part of the study, but it is emphasized that MAC factors should be considered in their unitary, total effect for them to serve as an index to potential violence.

As for the P vector, it should be thought of as representing the combining effect of conditions and forces that make for stability and wholeness. As the cohesion increases, so does the power. What is suggested here is not so much a cause and effect relationship as a functional one. Power may be just as responsible for cohesion as cohesion is for power. In any event, as both power and cohesion increase, the move is increasingly toward being "somebody."

In a similar manner, as MAC increases, so does impotence or helplessness. The lower the vector falls and the longer it gets, the more being "nobody" is approached. When the point HVP (highest violence potential) is reached, it is suggested the highest potential for violence exists. In contrast, when the point LVP (lowest violence potential) is reached (top right of the diagram), the lowest potential for violence exists. It will be noticed that an arc swings from the extreme end of "nobody" to "somebody." This represents the attempt to use violence to assert oneself as a person in his own right. Violence may seem to be more a short-circuiting of the system than the arc would suggest. However, when looked upon as a self-defeating means, it is
indeed a hard way to obtain identity -- a "long way to get nowhere."

Although individual cases of violence will be examined in a closing part of this study, the model presented here is meant to account for group tendencies. An individual who is "somebody" in terms of power may commit violence for reasons not accounted for or even implied by this model. Similarly, an individual who is "nobody" in terms of an utter lack of power may never demonstrate violence.

Just as "nobody" and "somebody" are "ideal" types, each embracing many gradations, the model as a whole stands for modal tendencies among a whole group of people.

But to test whether there are such tendencies and whether such a model can be used to account for attitudes toward violence, if not the potential itself, empirical data from the field must now be introduced.
IV -- METHODS AND RESULTS

A. An Invitation for Inventiveness

To Newcomb, social psychology has "borrowed generously from individual psychology, sociology, cultural anthropology and psychiatry" (172). Although he does not believe that boundary lines between behavioral science disciplines are of central concern, he says he "likes to apply the label 'social psychology' to the investigation of processes by which persons relate themselves to one another and simultaneously to other aspects of their environment." In the course of pursuing such an investigation in a properly scientific and orderly manner, Newcomb says the social psychologist has been forced to become "methodologically inventive." He adds: "...sensitivity to characteristically social-psychological problems has mothered invention because it presupposes the kind of cross-disciplinary familiarity which fosters discrimination among different sorts of methods." To the extent that there is any inventiveness in the methodology of the research being reported here, this study could be considered social psychology. It could also be considered an attempt to deal with what Festinger calls the "real world" or "real life" situations (173). Although he uses these terms to contrast with the "artificiality" of the laboratory experiment, the desire for "realness" in methodology was behind the attempt to achieve inventiveness in the gathering of field data for the present study.
Much earlier than Newcomb, W. I. Thomas and Florian Znaniecki defined social psychology as "the scientific study of attitudes" (174). The flexibility of this definition appeals to Allport, who called it "probably the most distinctive and indispensable concept in contemporary social psychology" (175). He thinks, as Reitman notes, that it is wise to "presuppose no systematic position on the origins of attitudes, on the extent of genetic determination or on limitations as to the kinds of objects to which they may apply" (176, p. 235).

These points are brought up as a backdrop to the methodology and data to be presented here, much of which relate directly to attitudes and attempts to sample them with realism. Although, as mentioned earlier, Rokeach has found a multitude of concepts about what an attitude is -- there are probably as many definitions as Allport found for personality -- it is hoped that the present study avoids using attitudes as "magic." The concept of "instincts," Holt believes, reached the "magic" point at one time in social psychology. He found that "man is impelled to action...by his instincts. If he goes with his fellows, it is the 'herd instinct' which actuates him; if he walks alone, it is the 'anti-social instinct'...if he twiddles his thumbs, it is the thumb-twiddling instinct; if he does not twiddle his thumb, it is the thumb-not-twiddling instinct. Thus everything is explained with the facility of magic -- word magic" (177).

In this study, it is believed that something which will be called "attitude toward violence" was a central item sampled. The comments of Holt were introduced as recognition that just because a research
design calls for a survey of attitudes, this is no proof that attitudes were in fact sampled. Further, even if "attitude" is a valid description for what was surveyed, it still may not coincide with the potential behavior of a subject. In developing any research design, as Newcomb points out, the results obtained are no better than the methods used. In the development of the design for this study, major emphasis was placed on a methodology that would be realistic and that would provide some gauge for potential violence so far as "attitudes" are an index to potential behavior. What is referred to as a "natural dialogue" survey technique was used.
B. Research Design

The problem was to gauge potential racial violence on the socio-economic strata where it is believed to be most explosive. There seems to be general agreement that although a race riot may be set off by an incident involving people from any socio-economic level, it is the "ghetto class" that joins in with the most fuel since its members have little to lose and much to gain in terms of releasing a lifetime of stored-up feeling.

The question then became this: Where can a fair number of Negroes on the lowest socio-economic strata be found in a "natural" setting that lends itself to realistic sampling? Would door-to-door questionnaire techniques be realistic? Would a systematic questioning of ghetto Negroes on street corners, in shops and bars yield the desired data?

It seemed to the author that what was needed was a "natural setting" where lower-class Negroes gathered voluntarily and had ample time to talk. From considerable experience around charity hospitals, the author knew that many Negroes from the lowest socio-economic strata could be found in various waiting rooms doing just that -- waiting.

A "trial wait" was undertaken in the outpatient clinic at a large general hospital in Houston, which serves charity patients for an area of nearly 2,000,000. The time that elapsed between registration at the clinic and examination by a physician was 6 hours 10 minutes, which turned out to be a fairly typical wait. This test confirmed that there was ample time for conversations to be carried on by persons
waiting for their names to be called for examination by a physician. It also established these facts:

1. The number of Negroes in the outpatient waiting room averaged 46 during the six-hour period. The number of whites averaged 11.

2. There was a strong tendency for persons sitting side by side on the same bench to strike up extended conversations, much like passengers on a long plane or train ride.

3. There was a tendency for a relationship of reciprocity to develop between two persons next to each other on the same bench. After a period of waiting and talking, one would get up and go to the restroom, get a drink of water or make a phone call while the other would save his seat and listen for his name in case it was called during his absence. Later, the same would be done for the other person.

4. There was considerable traffic through the clinic, as well as much milling about. This condition suggested that data-gatherers could remain in the clinic over a considerable period of time without attracting attention.

5. Location of the outpatient clinic was such that a data-gatherer could enter it directly, take a seat and strike up a conversation without having to pass through other check points. On one side of the outpatient clinic was the emergency clinic with its own waiting room and on the other side was a large registration area. Also adjacent to the outpatient clinic, which is for adults not ill enough to be admitted to the hospital, was a bank of elevators lead-
ing to a pediatrics clinic.

Included in this initial "test wait" was verification of the fact that only persons showing evidence of low income could qualify for treatment in the outpatient clinic. The following criteria had to be met for treatment:

a. An individual with no dependents had to show evidence of not having an income exceeding $100 a month.

b. A person with eight dependents was eligible for the outpatient clinic if his income did not exceed $332 a month.

c. A sliding scale, based on number of dependents, determined eligibility between the minimum of $100 and the maximum of $332.*

d. In instances where dependents exceeded eight and income was more than $332, applications were considered on a special-case basis.

It was learned that the typical case seeking admission to the clinic had an average of three dependents. The ratio of females to males averaged 1.4 to 1.

After the initial trial, a diagram was made of the outpatient clinic and surrounding area and presented to Negroes recruited as prospective data-gatherers. In a three-week period six Negroes were enlisted as prospective data-gatherers, through cooperation of Dr. Mary Ellen Goodman and other members of the Houston Council on Human

*The "average" worker living in a large city in 1965 with a wife and two children required a gross weekly income of $123 a week just for "necessities," according to estimates based on Department of Labor statistics.
Relations. These included school teachers, housewives and a secretary. Seven other Negroes later joined the project, two as interviewers and five as "listening post" reporters.

Two of the initial six made a trial run of their own to the outpatient area to observe the "typical" dress, walk and talk of Negroes in the clinic. Three orientation sessions were then held to familiarize each interviewer with the diagram of the area and with other pertinent information obtained during the two trial runs.

The next step was to institute a training program for instructing interviewers in the "natural dialogue" technique to be used in obtaining data desired. Various gambits were practiced for opening conversations with prospective subjects and leading them into questions relating to categories of interest. It was impressed upon each interviewer that subjects were to be engaged in "dialogue" and questions were to be raised in the natural course of conversation. The objective was to carry on an in-depth interview with the subject without the subject's being aware he was being interviewed. Since names of subjects were not to be recorded, and since the "natural dialogues" were to be conducted on public property, it was not felt that any violation of confidence or privacy would ensue from the technique employed. The whole approach was designed to obtain expressions of attitudes in a manner that would yield honest responses -- not responses made to please a known interviewer or ones given for their "social acceptability."

Additional trial runs made at the clinic confirmed that easy exchange of information between persons waiting was the practice, and
that a "natural dialogue" could be carried on in the direction of obtaining desired data. Recording of the data was to be done on a hand-size card, which went through a number of tests before the formal program of interviewing began. An example of one of the originally printed cards is shown in Figure 2. This card was modified to reflect more specific information on family fragmentation and rural-to-urban shifts. Although the central question was attitude toward violence, other categories were included to obtain expressions on related issues, such as attitudes toward integration, civil rights movements and acceptance of authority. These were used as a reliability check on the responses given to the question of attitude toward violence.

The card was coded so that recording of responses could be done rapidly. Each data-gatherer was instructed not to record responses in the presence of a subject. Since getting up and going to the phone or restroom was an accepted practice, such absences away from the subject were used to record responses obtained up to that point in the "natural dialogue" interview.

A rating scale was developed to permit strength of responses to be recorded. A number of training sessions were devoted for familiarizing data-gatherers with the rating technique. In fact, Negro interviewers participated in determining how each question category might be answered and the response rated in terms of strength of attitude. Emphasis was placed on the gradations to be obtained on attitudes toward violence. In terms of the codes on the data card, these were the attitudes listed for responses in the violence category
1-2 Work (write C#)
3-4 Work Attd. (C#)
5-6-7 Res. ___________ St. ________ Blk.
8-9 Moves (actual #) __________________________
9-10 Age (C#) Tgtr
11 Where _cmr_ (write) Spd Gne
12 Final rest (write) NW Thn
13 Lit. (crl1) 1 2 3 4 5
14 How far n skl (actual #) ____________________
15 Mvnt Attd. (crl1) 1 2 3 4
16 Vio Attd. (crl1) 1 2 3 4
17-18 What makes U maddest __________________________
19-20 Matl. Admrs (write C#) _______________________
21-22 Lkl Ldrs (write) ____________________________
23-24 Attd Intrgrtn (C#) __________________________
24-25 Hsptl Vt. (C#) ______________________________
26 Acc Auth. (crl1) 1 2 3 4
27 Attd Mstr (crl1) 1 2 3 4
28 Rlgion (write) ________________________________
29-30 Fav. Song ________________________________
31-32 Mna (crl1) 1 2 3 4 5 6 7

C# cont'd) ______________________________________
16 Vio Attd:1. Cpsnly r clvly; 2. Fvr clv f jstf-wd nd prtspe; 1. Fvrs clv & mg prtspe; 1. Fvrs sgl & clv w prtspe;
27 Mstr:1. Does evths; 2. Bvse evths-prkts sklty; 3. Acc rlg-rjks mstr; 4. Rjsks both;
31-32 Mna:1. Isnl nt rlgus convtrns; 2. Hlgus; 3. Isn't slv anythg; 4. Chnc physl dsblty; 5. Mng of fndr or dnt-nt rlty; 6. Fmly; 7. Aprt frnl hth
reasons

FIGURE 2

DATA CARD FOR "NATURAL DIALOGUE" INTERVIEWS

(Front side)
32. n skl.
3-4 Work Attd C#: 1. Ed/trnd for btr;
2. Only thg cn gt; 3. Must moonlt;
4. Must wrk ard wnts; 5. Htes it;
6. Just tolrlt it; 7. Chnce for ad-
vncmnt; 8. Lke it.
9-10 Age C#: 1. 20-30; 2. 30-40; 3. 40-50;
4. 50-60; 5. 60-70; 6. Over 70
13 Lit C#: 1. No doubt in mind cn r &
    w nuf to gt by; 2. Can r & w (barely
    3. Can r bt nt w; 4. Can do nthr—can
    sgn name; 5. Illrte.
23-24 Attd Intgr: 1. Dfnly for it—thks,
    it gd thg & shld b spedd up; 2. For
    it in prnsple—cnn't psny do any
    thg abt it; 3. Agns—bt won't (ft
    it eithr wwy; 4. Dfnly agns.
24-25 Hptl Vt: 1. vtd for; 2. Frd—too
    bdy; 3. Frd—frgt; 4. Frd—no trnspo;
    5. Frd—no Fl Tx; 6. Agns—psb tx hke;
    9. Ddn't unstnd; 10. It rsidnt lng
    nuf; 11. Undrage.
26 Acc Auth: 1. All; 2. Omtng Pls Auth—
    acc auth prnspl dpndng on indvl;
    3. Rjks Pls auth—acc other; 4. Rjks
    All.
    95 Never heard of it
    96 No reason
    97 I don't knw
    98 How lng hev

Date ________ By __________

DATA CARD

(Back side)
(listed as C #16):

1. Regardless of circumstances, the subject opposes racial violence in terms of both individual action (a Negro attacking a white person) and collective action.

2. The subject favors collective action but would not participate as an individual.

3. Favors collective action and might participate.

4. Favors both individual action and collective action and would participate in both.

Each data-gatherer was instructed on the point that the question about violence was to be asked in the context of whether this kind of action should be used as a means to obtain a goal in racial matters. In other words, the subject was not to be drawn out on whether he or she had ever resorted to violence or favored its use in other instances, such as marital clashes or personal disputes with other Negroes.

The other attitude questions, designed chiefly as a reliability check on the violence responses, also were constructed in a strictly racial context.

Referring again to Figure 2, C #15 relates to attitudes toward civil rights movements, C #23-24 to integration, and 26 to acceptance of authority. A four-point rating scale was used for each, as follows:

Civil rights movements --

1. The subject has personally been in civil rights movements.

2. Would like to participate but hasn't had the chance.

3. Favors such movements but would not participate.

4. Opposes such activities.
Attitude toward integration --

1. The subject is definitely for it, thinks it should be speeded up and would like to help.
2. Favors it in principle but can't personally do anything about it.
3. Against it but wouldn't take action, if given a chance.
4. Definitely opposes and would take action, if given a chance.

Acceptance of authority --

1. Subject accepts all authority.
2. Subject accepts authority depending on the circumstance.
3. Rejects police authority particularly and is inclined to reject other types, depending on circumstance.
4. Rejects all authority, regardless of type and circumstance.

A specific type of authority -- the religious minister -- was used to constitute the subject of a separate category. This was included as a possible check on the degree of anomie expressed by subjects interviewed, since religion may serve a cohesive role.

A category on suicide (C #21-32) also was originally included in hopes of providing additional data on anomie, but it was later discarded for reasons that will be discussed under results.

A check on socio-economic class was provided by C #5-6-7, which relates to street and block number. With the information on residence, figures could be obtained through census tract data on such parameters as rent, home values and population per household.
The MAC identity factors were listed on the data card by C #8-9 (moves), by C #11 (which was modified to inquire into anomie) and by C #12, which was developed as an indication of determining rural-to-urban shifts. Anomie was given a three-point rating system (not shown on the card as originally printed): 1 -- parents of subjects lived together; 2 -- parents were separated or divorced but subject saw absent one occasionally, and 3 -- subject hardly knew father and/or mother.

Other items on the card included: C #17-18, an open-ended question about "what makes you maddest?"; C #19-20, a question relating to whom the subject most admires nationally, and 21-22, which asked the same question about local leaders. The significance of the question about national leaders admired will be discussed in Part V, along with results.

Data-gatherers were given enough experience during test runs to determine what sequence should be used in introducing categories to discuss with the subjects. There was no insistence that the categories be brought up in the order listed on the card. In reference to the first category (C #1-2), each data-gatherer was instructed to indicate the sex of the subject if this was not obvious from the type of work specified.

The methodology developed for obtaining data through the "natural dialogue" technique was labeled Dimension I. Approximately 10 weeks were spent on evolving this dimension's approach, on recruiting data-gatherers, on training sessions and on making "trial runs" to test both the technique and data card.
A substantial part of the "rehearsal" for use of the data card in the field consisted of each interviewer's making certain that he had necessary techniques for eliciting the various gradations in attitudes toward violence. Practice runs at the clinic helped data-gatherers develop these techniques. In obtaining information on mobility and "rural-to-urban shifts," interviewers were instructed that only moves made before the subject was 13 years old should be counted. It seemed evident from studies on the effects of "uprooting" that moves made while a child are the most significant.

Once the "natural dialogues" of Dimension 1 were underway and producing data, another phase of the activity was launched. This was called Dimension 2. It consisted of setting up a series of "listening posts" in Negro neighborhoods as an additional method for obtaining readings on the potential for racial violence. Again, the focus was on lower socio-economic strata. Negroes enlisted for this activity included a barber, a man who made systematic rounds at bars, a county welfare worker who distributed cash subsidies, a county employee who handed out food commodities, a counselor who worked with unemployed Negroes, a taxi driver and an ambulance attendant.

Each of these people was given a list of categories in which to listen for information in the course of carrying on their daily jobs. The major category concerned expressions of potential violence. The list also included attitudes expressed toward civil rights movements, integration, authority and other items included on the data cards designed for Dimension 1. The person at each "listening post" agreed that at periodic intervals he would convey what he had learned by
talking into a tape recorder brought to him by the author.

In addition to the 13 Negroes working in Dimension 1 and 2, there were 12 white people who helped on various other phases of this project. Most contributed to what became identified as Dimension 3 -- an analysis of the principal goals and activities of groups that might ignite racial strife. As previously mentioned in this study, such groups included the Ku Klux Klan, the Black Muslims, the Citizens Council of America, the American Nazi Party and the John Birch Society. Speeches by leaders of most of these groups were attended and reported by team members. Publications of the organizations were read for content analysis. Though Dimension 3 was not designed to test the identity-violence hypothesis, it did have relevance to the basic question of what forces were contributing to racial unrest in Houston in the summer of 1965.
C. Dimension 1 ("Natural Dialogue") Results

From May 13, 1965, to September 22, 1965, a total of 110 "natural dialogue" interviews were completed, using the research design and methodology outlined. The time necessary to complete a "natural dialogue" ranged from 65 minutes to 140 minutes, with 90 the average. The 110 completed represents those on whom information was obtained in every category called for on the final version of the data card. There were nine cases -- not included in the 110 -- that were discarded because of the subject's name being called for examination, because of his moving his seat or his reluctance to be drawn into a conversation. After undergoing the training period and trial runs, data-gatherers reported that they found no difficulty in obtaining the desired data in most cases. In many instances, they said, subjects were not only willing to enter a "dialogue" but seemed sincerely glad to have the opportunity to talk during their wait at the clinic. It has been the observation of the author, in 12 years of experience in interviewing people around hospitals, that a person by himself who is sick, or thinks he is, has a sense of loneliness -- perhaps helplessness -- that contributes to his welcoming quiet conversation and companionship. People in the outpatient clinic were not so ill that they could not express strong feelings on subjects that might be considered unpleasant by individuals whose lives have been untouched by violence. Curiously, data-gatherers found that when they did encounter reluctance by a subject, it was in a category such as age.

But by using various gambits that continued to be developed, age
(C #9-10) did not prove too much of a problem to obtain. Literacy (C #13) was designed from the beginning to be an impressionistic rating, since no way became apparent for precisely determining to what degree a subject could read and write. Methods were developed for introducing the question of schooling into the "natural dialogue" and this provided some cross-check on the data-gatherer's impression about the subject's literacy. As mentioned earlier, the suicide category was discarded, one reason being that several of the data-gatherers themselves, in practice sessions, expressed reluctance to pursue questions on this matter if a subject showed any disinclination to discuss it. But of more importance, it was decided that at least seven choices should be "offered" the subject in connection with his attitudes toward suicide, and that any seven-point response scale was just too elaborate for a data-gatherer to handle. Since a review of various studies on suicide among Negroes had already been made and showed fairly consistent findings (178, 179, 180), it was agreed that the category would not be included in this project. The decision had already been made that questions regarding suicide would not be as useful an index to anomie as would data on family fragmentation. Though Durkheim originally used the term "anomie" in his classic study on suicide (171), he based his analysis on observations among people other than American Negroes. As mentioned earlier, the anomie term that is used in the author's study is not an anomie relating to suicide. It does relate to fractionation of family and to the resulting consequences for the individual.

Tables 4, 5, and 6 present the distribution of variables found
### TABLE 4

COMPARISON OF MOBILITY
WITH ATTITUDES TOWARD VIOLENCE (N=110)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Attitude toward Violence</th>
<th>Number of Moves</th>
<th>Total Subjects</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>0   1   2   3   4   5 and over</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Sanctions none)</td>
<td>1   6   11  4   2   1   1</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2   2   2   10  6   2   2</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3   1   1   5   10  10  2</td>
<td>29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Strong sanction)</td>
<td>4   1   0   3   11  15  2</td>
<td>32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total subjects</td>
<td>10  14  22  29  28  7  110</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Attitude Toward Violence</td>
<td>Parents Together</td>
<td>Parents Separated; Saw Absent One Occasionally</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-------------------------</td>
<td>-----------------</td>
<td>-----------------------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Sanctions none)</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Strong Sanction)</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total Subjects</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Attitude Toward Violence</td>
<td>Rural only</td>
<td>Urban only</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>--------------------------</td>
<td>------------</td>
<td>------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Sanctions none)</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Strong sanction)</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total Subjects</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
among the 110 subjects regarding mobility, anomie and complexity (the MAC factors in identity). Attitudes toward violence are reflected in the same tabulations, as indicated. The results suggest an association between MAC factors and potential violence -- that is, as mobility, anomie and complexity increase so does the tendency to sanction violence. Statistical analysis of these data will be found in the next section.

It should be emphasized, however, that the MAC factors, when used as an index to potential violence, should be considered in combination, as a unitary influence. This was a point made in Part III when the vector model was presented. It is not felt that any one of the MAC factors, taken alone, can be relied upon as a gauge to the sanction of violence. Statistical analysis does indicate a dependence between at least two of the factors, taken separately, and attitude toward violence. But it is still believed that a more valid interpretation comes from considering the three together.

Figure 3 is based on the combination concept. The bar labeled "MAC" represents all persons who reported four or more moves before age 13 and who also had family fragmentation and made shifts from a rural to urban environment. The "Non-MAC" bar was derived from the subjects in the sample of 110 who reported fewer than four moves, who had no family fragmentation and made no rural-to-urban shifts. The "Mix" group consisted of the remainder in the sample who had neither "pure" MAC nor Non-MAC backgrounds -- that is, they had one or two of the MAC factors but not all three.

A comparison also was made of how age and sex related to attitudes
MAC: Represents subjects who reported four or more moves, family fragmentation and rural-to-urban shifts.

Non-MAC: Represents subjects who reported fewer than four moves, no family fragmentation and no rural-to-urban shifts.

Mix: Represents remaining subjects.

FIGURE 3

COMPARISON OF COMBINED MAC FACTORS WITH NON-MAC FACTORS IN TERMS OF ATTITUDES TOWARD VIOLENCE (N=110)
toward violence. Table 7 shows the relationship between age and attitudes toward violence. Table 8 is an illustration of how sex corresponds to the varying degrees of violence attitudes. It will be noted that the younger the subject, the more likely is the violence attitude to be a strong one. Males, as might be expected, expressed stronger attitudes toward use of violence than did females, but the statistical difference did not prove to be significant.

As will be recalled from Part III, the theoretical formulation in this study was that MAC factors militate against the "power" to obtain identity and in so doing, promote tendencies toward violence. To the extent that attitudes toward violence represent potential violence -- a subject already touched on -- the combined data of Figure 3 would tend to confirm the theoretical formulation. The statistical analysis that will be presented also reflects confirmation.

It was suggested earlier that a reliability check on the expression of violence attitudes might be available in the form of questions about civil rights movements, integration and acceptance of authority. Figures 4, 5 and 6 depict the responses given in each of these categories, compared with those expressed toward violence. Again, it is to be remembered that the questions on violence were framed in a racial context and that it was expected that if a person felt strongly about the sanction of violence in racial matters, he would tend to have a comparable strength of feeling about civil rights activities, integration and authority. This expectation seemed to be confirmed in each case and to the extent that it was, the assumption is made that responses to the questions on violence were reliable.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Attitude Toward Violence</th>
<th>20-30</th>
<th>30-40</th>
<th>40-50</th>
<th>50-60</th>
<th>60-70</th>
<th>Over 70</th>
<th>Total</th>
<th>Percent in Each Attitude Category</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(Sanctions none)</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Strong sanction)</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>110</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
TABLE 8

A COMPARISON OF SEX
WITH ATTITUDES TOWARD VIOLENCE (N=110)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Attitude Toward Violence</th>
<th>Male</th>
<th>Female</th>
<th>Total</th>
<th>Percent in Each Attitude Category</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(Sanctions none)</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Strong sanction)</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>32</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Total                     | 51   | 59     | 110   |

23.6% against violence
22.7% for some degree of violence
24.5% for greater degree of violence
29.1% for greatest degree of violence
76.3% sanction violence in varying degrees
FIGURE 4
COMPARISON OF ATTITUDES TOWARD CIVIL RIGHTS MOVEMENTS WITH THOSE TOWARD VIOLENCE (N=110)
FIGURE 5

COMPARISON OF ATTITUDES TOWARD RACIAL INTEGRATION WITH THOSE TOWARD VIOLENCE (N=110)
FIGURE 6
COMPARISON OF ATTITUDES TOWARD ACCEPTANCE OF AUTHORITY WITH THOSE TOWARD VIOLENCE (N=110)
In examining Figures 4, 5 and 6, it will be noticed that a certain grouping of data was done. In the case of the civil rights category, all responses favoring movements in varying degrees were grouped and compared with all those sanctioning violence in varying degrees. The responses on the four-point rating scale for civil rights movements were as follows: 1 -- there were 17 subjects who said they had personally been in some form of movement pertaining to civil rights, including those for speedier integration; 2 -- there were 42 who said they would like to participate but they had not had a chance to do so; 3 -- 27 said they favored civil rights movements but would not participate; and 4 -- there were 24 who expressed opposition to movements.

In regard to integration, the breakdown by attitude was as follows: 1 -- there were 38 who said integration should be speeded up and they would like to help accelerate it; 2 -- 50 said they favored integration but did not think they could do anything about accelerating it; 3 -- 14 said they opposed integration but would not try to stop it; 4 -- there were 8 who said they opposed it and would try to stop it if given a chance.

On the question of authority, the responses according to each attitude type were: 1 -- there were 10 who said they accepted all authority; 2 -- 18 said they accepted authority if the circumstances warranted; 3 -- 48 said they rejected police authority particularly and were inclined to reject other types, depending on the circumstance; 4 -- there were 34 who said they rejected all authority. It should be explained that the 10 who said they accepted all authority did so in such a manner as to make plain to the data-gatherer that
"I do what I'm told" or "I know my place and I keep it" or "the best way to get along in this world is to jump when told to and ask no questions about why."

Although the study being reported here is concerned with identity and potential racial violence, it seems relevant to include other data on racial unrest regardless of how indirect the connection may be with violence or identity. An example of this is the information obtained in Dimension 1 from the question: "What makes you maddest?"

Table 9 represents a breakdown on the types of responses given. As will be noted, there were subjects whose responses indicated latent violence and rage. However, these could not be considered in a category of social unrest or social injustice except where it was clear that the subject was talking about racial problems and not ones peculiar to his marriage, relations with neighbors or some other personal matter. The following illustrates social injustice as reported in a supplement to a "natural dialogue" interview:

The interviewee was quite conscious of a dual system of justice. She cited an incident where her father was wounded and her uncle killed by a group of Negro teenagers. They (the teenagers) just got 30 years for killing my uncle, but a boy (Negro) raped a white woman and they gave him 99 years. Kashmere is really getting bad in terms of violence. Soon it will be worse than Fifth Ward."

Since it has been suggested that the MAC factors examined in this study represent a psychological extension of some of the sociological parameters investigated in other studies of racial violence, it seems pertinent to include here data obtained from the census tracts representing the residences of the 110 subjects interviewed. The census
### TABLE 9

**CATEGORIES OF RESPONSES IN ANSWER TO THE QUESTION: "WHAT MAKES YOU MADDEST?"**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type of Response</th>
<th>Number of Subjects</th>
<th>Percent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Did not know or could not formulate an answer</td>
<td>51</td>
<td>46</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Social Injustice</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Insults from whites in general</td>
<td>18</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>White police</td>
<td>16</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Businesses owned by whites</td>
<td>7</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Having no voice in way things are run</td>
<td>3</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;Dual system of justice&quot;</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Sex</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;Women&quot;</td>
<td>4</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;My man running around&quot;</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Getting beaten</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Miscellaneous</strong></td>
<td>5</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;Everything&quot;</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;Life&quot;</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;Lots of lip&quot;</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
tracts also served to provide a check on the socio-economic status of subjects in the outpatient clinic of the charity hospital. In addition, an examination could be made of how closely the residences of Negroes at the clinic corresponded with the distribution of Negroes throughout the city. Table 10 indicates that Negroes interviewed in the clinic were, in fact, from the lowest socio-economic levels and represented a residential distribution comparable to that for Negroes as a whole in the Houston area. Some population shifts have occurred since the census information was obtained for 1960, and these may partially explain the small variances that are evident in the figures in Table 10. (See Appendix B for a map of the predominantly Negro neighborhoods in Houston in terms of socio-economic class.)

In regard to other findings obtained from the 110 subjects, the results pertaining to people admired nationally will be reserved for Part V, which examines the question of individual violence and the "heroes" of people who commit it. Findings obtained in all other categories are included in Appendix C.

One of the extra dividends coming out of Dimension 1 were reports giving supplementary information from the interviews (such as the "social injustice" report just cited). How much "extra" obtained by a data-gatherer turned out to be a function of how articulate the subject was, how skilled the interviewer was and how good a rapport was established between the two. Since there is no way to record in a table or chart some of the flavor and feelings obtained as supplementary information, here is a report from one of the most skilled members of the team of Negro interviewers:
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Subjects</th>
<th>Census Tract</th>
<th>% Negro</th>
<th>Population per Household</th>
<th>Median Number of Rooms</th>
<th>Median Value of Homes</th>
<th>Average Monthly Rent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>20</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>98.2</td>
<td>3.40</td>
<td>4.0</td>
<td>$7900</td>
<td>$44</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>92.2</td>
<td>3.47</td>
<td>3.9</td>
<td>$7700</td>
<td>$49</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>99.4</td>
<td>3.31</td>
<td>4.0</td>
<td>$9300</td>
<td>$49</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>98.7</td>
<td>3.15</td>
<td>4.1</td>
<td>$8500</td>
<td>$52</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>53-B</td>
<td>89.4</td>
<td>3.92</td>
<td>4.5</td>
<td>$8500</td>
<td>$49</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>94-C</td>
<td>91.5</td>
<td>4.01</td>
<td>4.5</td>
<td>not available</td>
<td>n.a.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>70.7</td>
<td>3.98</td>
<td>4.3</td>
<td>$6800</td>
<td>$53</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>93-A</td>
<td>98.1</td>
<td>3.87</td>
<td>n.a.</td>
<td>n.a.</td>
<td>n.a.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>93-B</td>
<td>73.3</td>
<td>3.87</td>
<td>4.3</td>
<td>n.a.</td>
<td>n.a.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Other</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(95-C)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(36-A)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(56)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

a Census data from the U. S. Bureau of the Census advance tabulation and final reports of the 1960 Decennial Census and the Population and Housing Analysis of Metropolitan Houston, 1960, of the Population and Housing Division, Research Committee, Houston Chamber of Commerce.

b From outside Houston city limits.
This subject was a young woman 30 years of age. She looked older. She walked with a certain futility. It was not the dragging kind of walk that seems to characterize many older Negroes who shuffle into the clinic as if life had long ago defeated them. This woman was still a fighter, but she seemed to anticipate that the final decision would be against her. She had set out to 'make something of herself' -- 'to be someone,' as she called it. And she set upon this course against considerable odds. She knew her father only slightly. He represented some vague figure of the past who was associated in this girl's memory with her family's move from Giddings to Houston. The Fifth Ward became her home. 'Home' was a succession of houses through which a succession of men passed, staying hardly long enough to learn the first names of the five children who were this girl's brothers and sisters. Her mother worked as a waitress in a Negro cafe for awhile, then in a bar and finally in a laundry. But this girl seized upon some kind of dream of a better life, based on glimpses of people and clothes and cars and homes that she never got even close enough to touch. During the interview she would rub her rough hands on the cheap print dress and talk about the struggle to finish high school, the even bigger struggle to finish two years at TSU. Then the roof caved in. Her mother got sick, there were still younger children at home. This girl had to take on the responsibilities. And finally when the pressure became a way of life she stopped fighting it just long enough to seek some refuge, some release, some respite, regardless of how brief, in sex. She became pregnant and had a child, the father never knowing he had impregnated her. Her child is now an obsession with her. The woman vows that her child is going to live a better life, 'so help me God.' This woman would make a contract with the devil if it meant a better life for her little boy. She will join in violence, she will kill, she will do anything to take him 'out of the muck' and 'let him have a chance.'
D. Statistical Analysis of Dimension 1 Results

The relationship between attitudes toward violence and MAC factors was analyzed two ways. The first analysis was made of the MAC factors in combination -- that is, how they correlated, if at all, with attitudes toward violence when they were considered as a unitary influence. It has already been suggested that it is the combination effect of mobility, anomie and complexity that would seem to provide the most valid index of potential violence and identity. But a statistical analysis also was made of each MAC factor separately in terms of its relationship with attitudes toward violence.

In considering the MAC factors as a unitary influence, a contingency table was constructed on the basis of the kind of grouping of data presented in Figure 3. It will be recalled from the preceding section (C of Part IV) that when MAC is analyzed in combination, it is made up of the following: The number of subjects reporting four or more moves as a child who also had backgrounds of family fragmentation ('parents separated' or 'hardly knew father and/or mother') and rural-to-urban shifts. "Non-MAC" is composed of those reporting fewer than four moves, whose parents lived together and who made no shift from a rural to urban environment, remaining in either a "rural only" or "urban only" setting. The "Mix" category contains the number of subjects who had neither "pure" incohesion from a background of mobility plus anomie plus complexity, nor "pure" stability by reason of having no mobility or anomie or complexity.

In terms of attitudes toward violence, the contingency table sets up cells for all subjects who indicated they did not sanction racial
violence in any form and for all who reported sanction of varying degrees of such action. This gives a comparison, then, of total no sanction of violence (Attitude 1) with sanction of violence (Attitudes 2, 3 and 4). Table 11 presents the results.
TABLE 11

COMPARISON OF ATTITUDE TOWARD SANCTION OF VIOLENCE
IN TERMS OF MAC FACTORS COMBINED AND
NON-MAC FACTORS COMBINED

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>MAC</th>
<th>Non-MAC</th>
<th>Mix</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>No sanction</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sanction</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>51</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>34</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>65</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

27
83
110
For df = 2, a $\chi^2 = 9.702$ is significant at better than the 1% level. The data, then, suggest conclusive evidence that the MAC and non-MAC identity factors differentiate on the basis of attitude toward sanction of violence.

As for the relationship between attitudes toward violence and each MAC factor considered separately, a statistical test for dependence was made, using information theory. The values obtained for mutual information (I) are based on an examination of each of the factors in relationship to attitudes toward violence (A.T.V.). If the probability of the joint occurrence between one of the factors and A.T.V. is equal to the product of their individual occurrences considered separately, then the theory would hold that the two variables are independent of one another.

For a multiple contingency table between two sets of categories, as N, the sample size, becomes large, the distribution of $2N I$ approaches the $\chi^2$-distribution with the appropriate degrees of freedom. Thus, for a given level of significance for Type I error, a test of the hypothesis that the two factors are dependent can be made. The hypothesis that the two factors are independent is tested by choosing a desired level of confidence, say $\alpha\%$, and obtaining a critical value, then the hypothesis of independence is rejected and the factors are dependent with $\alpha\%$ confidence. Otherwise, the original hypothesis is accepted. Only $(100 - \alpha)\%$ of the time will the hypothesis of independence be rejected when it is true.

The theoretical background, then, for the formulation that follows may be illustrated by this example: If mobility and attitude
toward violence were considered for interdependence, they would be regarded as independent if each category under number of moves is independent of each category under A.T.V. This means that for a category designated j, under moves, and for one under attitude toward violence, designated i, then \( p_{ij} = q_i \cdot r_j \), where \( p_{ij} \) is the probability of the joint occurrence of category i under attitudes toward violence and category j under moves, and \( q_i \) is the probability of category i and \( r_j \) is the probability of category j. Thus, if the two events are independent, then \( \frac{p_{ij}}{q_i \cdot r_j} = 1 \) for all categories i and j. Since the logarithm of 1 is equal to 0, and since the mutual information is defined as the average value of the log \( \frac{p_{ij}}{q_i \cdot r_j} \) with respect to the joint probability distribution \( p_{ij} \), then the information I would be equal to 0 if the events (moves and A.T.V.) are independent and positive otherwise. In general, the more dependent the variables are, the larger the value of the information I.

For a measure of the mutual interdependence of the different MAC factors and A.T.V. in each of the multiple contingency tables, the empirical mutual information,

\[
I = \sum_{i,j} p_{ij} \log \frac{p_{ij}}{q_i \cdot r_j},
\]

between the respective categories, was used. As mentioned, \( p_{ij} \) represents the joint relative frequency of category i of A.T.V. and category j of the other particular factor being compared. The \( r_j \) is the sum of \( p_{ij} \) over all possible A.T.V. categories j.
Table 12 presents the calculated values of the empirical information $I$ and the critical values for the $\chi^2$-distribution at various confidence levels. Below each critical value, DEP stands for a decision of dependence of the factors at that confidence level, and IND for a decision of independence.

It will be noted that in addition to the MAC factors, age and sex also were included in the test for mutual interdependence with attitude toward violence. The fact that age suggests a strong dependent relationship with A.T.V. bears out the observation that younger Negroes seem to support stronger and bolder action in racial issues. The assumption might be made that people in general tend to be more conservative toward action as they grow older. As for sex, the analysis does not support the idea that Negro women are necessarily "weaker" in their attitudes toward violence than are men. Statistically, sex seems to have no significant relationship with A.T.V. Whether or not this has anything to do with the heavy responsibilities the lower-class Negro woman traditionally carries is difficult to say. Much has been written about the anger generated in Negro men by this dislocation from the family as a figure of authority and respect. Much less has been said about the hostility that may be deep within the Negro woman who has had to be the principal source of income for her children and herself as well as to hold together some semblance of a family unit.

Taking each factor separately, then, their descending order is as follows, in terms of influence on attitudes toward violence:

1. Moves
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Factors Compared</th>
<th>1</th>
<th>2N1</th>
<th>Deg. Freedom</th>
<th>99%</th>
<th>95%</th>
<th>90%</th>
<th>80%</th>
<th>60%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Violence &amp; Moves</td>
<td>.270</td>
<td>59.50</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>30.6</td>
<td>25.0</td>
<td>22.3</td>
<td>19.3</td>
<td>15.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>DEP</td>
<td>DEP</td>
<td>DEP</td>
<td>DEP</td>
<td>DEP</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Violence &amp; Anomie</td>
<td>.029</td>
<td>6.40</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>16.8</td>
<td>12.6</td>
<td>10.6</td>
<td>8.56</td>
<td>6.21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>IND</td>
<td>IND</td>
<td>IND</td>
<td>IND</td>
<td>DEP</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Violence &amp; Complexity</td>
<td>.056</td>
<td>12.41</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>16.8</td>
<td>12.6</td>
<td>10.6</td>
<td>8.56</td>
<td>6.21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>IND</td>
<td>IND</td>
<td>IND</td>
<td>DEP</td>
<td>DEP</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Violence &amp; Age</td>
<td>.182</td>
<td>40.12</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>30.6</td>
<td>25.0</td>
<td>22.3</td>
<td>19.3</td>
<td>15.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>DEP</td>
<td>DEP</td>
<td>DEP</td>
<td>DEP</td>
<td>DEP</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Violence &amp; Sex</td>
<td>.011</td>
<td>2.44</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>11.3</td>
<td>7.81</td>
<td>6.25</td>
<td>4.64</td>
<td>2.95</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>IND</td>
<td>IND</td>
<td>IND</td>
<td>IND</td>
<td>IND</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
2. Age
3. Complexity
4. Anomie
5. Sex

A possible interpretation of the influence may be given along these lines:

Factors 1 and 2: The data evaluation shows a high degree of stochastic interdependence between both moves and A.T.V. and age and A.T.V.

Factor 3: Complexity shows a tendency at the 90 percent level of confidence. More extensive data would aid in determining if there is a significance at a higher level of confidence. Again, the problem in considering the MAC factors separately is that the sample within each category's subdivisions ("rural only," "urban only," "rural-to-urban shift") is much smaller than is the case when the three "identity factors" are examined as a combined unit.

Factor 4: The data evaluation demonstrates essentially no stochastic interdependence. "Broken homes" have long been pointed to as producing a higher potential for psychological ill-effects in an individual and it might have been predicted here that the results should have shown a significant relationship with attitudes toward violence.

Factor 5: The data evaluation shows essentially no stochastic interdependence.
E. Dimension 2 ("Listening Post") Results

Because rumors of an imminent race riot in Houston began growing steadily in August, even before Watts exploded, the main concern of Dimension 2 became one of "listening" for specific information on where and when racial strife might break out. The consensus of six reports obtained between August 10, 1965 and September 3, 1965 was that Negroes in their parts of town were doing what the whites were in theirs -- hearing and passing on reports of forthcoming trouble and arming themselves in preparation for defense. The following is an example of the kind of tape-recorded report picked up from a listening post team member during this period (181):

This man had drunk only one beer when he got on the subject of race trouble. I know he wasn't drunk because he had been in the bar before and he certainly wasn't the kind of guy who lets the beer start talking for him after only one bottle. He said "I'm not a violent man. I like peace. I don't like to bother anybody and I don't like for anybody to bother me. But if any these white fellows or bitches pester me, I am going to kill the bastards and I am quite ready for it. I got me a shot gun, a rifle, plenty ammunition and two or three pistols around the house and I think most of the other colored people are just about the same way. We don't intend to take no stuff off nobody, so if they start anything, blood is going to flow because I am ready to die anyhow, and I think most of the colored people get tired of this stuff, get tired of being kicked around by the white man and they are ready to die. So there isn't going to be no beating up Negroes here and anybody getting away with it. This ain't Mississippi, and no Klan man or any other white man had better try to beat up a colored person. If they do, it's going to be worst than Mississippi."

But against this crisis period of rumor and counter-rumor, the steady drum of "routine" complaint continued on the plight of the Negro, as picked up by people at listening posts who could not avoid hearing it even if they wanted to. There was the Negro woman who was
intake worker for a governmental welfare agency. She screened applications for public assistance. One of her mid-summer reports went like this (182):

I see people in some of their deepest moments of anger and despair. Some of them see me as their last hope, not realizing -- not wanting to realize -- that I'm not the one who can decide whether they get public assistance. Frustrated? Hostile? Those words are worn out. We don't have a vocabulary for describing what some of these people feel. Whatever it is, it's eating them up, and if anyone ever throws a match among them, there's going to be a loud, loud explosion.

Some were desperate for just enough of a cash dole to live. But in other parts of the Negro community, at other listening posts, there was concern with things such as education (183):

"I think," a Negro taxidriver said, "that we got some damn fools on that schoolboard."

Course when it comes to teaching, I think any unqualified teacher ought to be fired whether he is white, black, blue or green. It don't make no difference. I wouldn't want my child taught by a bad Negro teacher any more than I want them taught by a bad white teacher. A Negro teacher can say he's no good because he hasn't had a chance, and that ain't his fault, but he still ought to be fired if he can't do the job. Course you know that most our Negro teachers have got their jobs in the past because they was the maids or the cooks or the butlers of important white folks, who'd go down to the school administration building and have them put on as teachers. Some of the kids of these colored maids turned out to be fathered by some of the richest white men in town, and that's another reason these colored women would end up being teachers. I know of some people that are daughters of some of these white folks and down in the Richmond area there are some real bastards who treat the Negro awful bad. Well, that's another question, I guess, but the time is coming when they are going to give an examination to these maids-turned-teachers and get rid of them. What we need more than anything else is good education of all the races; then we don't have to worry about Russia or communism and that stuff cause if we could ever get this place to be democratic we wouldn't have to worry about no communism. They come talking about communism and Negroes aren't interested. All the Negro wants is to be treated fair and to have his rights. He ain't after nothing else. This is just a whole lot of stuff the white folks is putting up, a smoke screen
it is, when they talk about Negroes becoming communists. Let them say what they want. Our time's coming.

But there were others that summer who did not have time to wait. Education was just a word. So was communism. What they wanted was something more basic -- food. A welfare woman at the listening post where food was dispensed described the hunger she saw everyday on the faces of the people passing before her (184):

The commodity section of county welfare is where persons who have no food and no money to buy any food can come over and get some surplus government food for their families. They are issued this food for a one month period and they just about have to give their total life's history to get it. The food usually consists of beans and butter, flour and some meat, which is usually Spam -- about 15 cans of Spam. It is really staple goods that these people have to make last for approximately one month. In this section you see hostility bubbling over because usually, after the people get the food, they have to try to find a dollar or something from somewhere else to pay one of the guys who hangs around the place and will take a mother home after she has received the food -- that is, if she's got a buck to pay him. These people have hostility for any and all, white, black, you name it. And someday it's going to spill over.

And what were the attitudes being picked up on the law, the government, the church -- agencies of authority such as these? One "listener" gave this report (185):

This man is getting his hair cut and he is talking about a lot of things. He very definitely feels that no law is made that is made for both the white man and the Negro, that white men still feel that the Negro has no rights which he has to respect. This man feels that the Negro has no protection in courts whatsoever and he feels that this will go on until something violent is done. He says there is no need for the Negro to expect the police to protect him and he doesn't see why the federal government doesn't step in and take over -- all this kind of thing. He says the people in Mississippi and Alabama and the law enforcement officers there are members of the KKK and other organizations against the Negroes. This means that the Negro will never be treated fair as far as the law is concerned. This man says he contributes freely to all agencies and the like that have worked for integration of races but he
has not been a part of any of the marches because he doesn't feel he can take nasty remarks or threats from members of the white race. He thinks the church should take a greater stand than it has. He has nothing against the church but he feels that it has not stood up and done its job. He says there is a lot of apathy among so-called liberals -- white liberals. He questions their intentions and says they don't know the Negro anyway. They get out there and try but they really don't know what they are doing. 'So often,' he says, 'the Negro has put his faith in the white man and the white man has let him down.' He doesn't think all white men are bad -- it would be so easy if that were the case, because then you could hate them all blindly and be done with it. He says he would hate to have to kill a white man in some mob violence because that particular white man might not deserve it. But he thinks there may be trouble and he hopes somebody will try to do something about it before it goes too far.

The man in the listening post report just presented said he believed in civil rights marches but had never participated because he felt he could not restrain himself if insulted by hecklers. This was a view reflected in more than one report in the summer of 1965. Here was what a college-educated, Southern-born Negro had to say on the subject (186):

I believe in marches and demonstrations because I feel that no longer can we sit around a conference table and discuss integration or racial problems and expect any real results. The problem must be brought out to the streets for the attention of the city and perhaps the state and nation to focus on it. As for any personal participation, I might help with the strategy and things that follow, but I do not feel I can suffer indignities that might come from someone cursing me or spitting on me. If I reacted as I think I would, I believe I might do something that would have a detrimental effect on the march. I am afraid, in other words, that I would resort to violence, and non-violence should be the way followed by marchers.

This same young Negro man, as he talked on, discussed some of the frustration that comes from a father's trying to tell his children that they will be treated differently by the world because they are black. He told of driving through parts of the South looking for
a place to stay overnight, with his wife and three children in the car.

If you've been driving for a long time that day, you're pretty exhausted and the children are restless. It becomes a distressing situation when you're not able to explain to your kids why you don't stop.... For some reason that you can't explain to yourself, you almost try to postpone telling them that they are Negro, and Negroes aren't allowed some places. It's as though you are trying to postpone telling them with the hope that by the time you really have to, things will be different and you can stop wherever you want.

This Negro, his wife and children could now find a place to stay overnight if they cared to quote the public accommodations law to a reluctant motel owner. But the point he made was that he would never forget that in his own recent memory there had been times when he and his family were not even accepted reluctantly. "Laws," he said, "don't make feelings go away." And feelings are what must be dealt with in potential racial violence.

On August 4, 1965, one week before rioting broke out in Watts, Negroes at six listening posts were asked to rank the level of racial tension in Houston compared with one year ago. The choices presented were: Tension is not as high, tension is about the same, tension is higher. The results are summarized in Table 13. To whatever extent the tension represented potential violence, the results tended to confirm the findings in Dimension 1, as did the listening post reports in general.

On August 22, 1965, one week after the Los Angeles rioting, Negroes at the same listening posts were asked to rank the level of racial tension then as compared with the pre-Watts period. Table 14 summarizes the results. Although there was agreement that the tension
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Listening Post</th>
<th>Not As High As Year Ago</th>
<th>About Same As Year Ago</th>
<th>Higher Than Year Ago</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Barber shop</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>x</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Taxi stand</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>x</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ambulance service</td>
<td></td>
<td>x</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unemployment agency</td>
<td></td>
<td>x</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bar, Third Ward</td>
<td></td>
<td>x</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bar, Fifth Ward</td>
<td></td>
<td>x</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**TABLE 14**

**POST-WATTS REPORT ON RACIAL TENSION**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Listening Post</th>
<th>Not As High As Two Weeks Ago</th>
<th>About Same As Two Weeks Ago</th>
<th>Higher Than Two Weeks Ago</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Barber shop</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>x</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Taxi stand</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>x</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ambulance service</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>x</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unemployment agency</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>x</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bar, Third Ward</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>x</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bar, Fifth Ward</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>x</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
level had increased, it still stopped short of racial violence in Houston. However, the comparison did seem to support an observation picked up throughout the summer from several listening post reports. It was this: No matter whether racial flareups occur in Selma, Alabama, or Los Angeles, they have effects on what Negroes feel in Houston. As one pointed out: "Just because it doesn't happen on your doorstep is no reason to believe that it doesn't add to local feeling."

This point was given further confirmation by responses to a question added to the post-Watts "natural dialogues" being conducted at the outpatient clinic. Data-gatherers asked subjects if they thought the Watts riot was justified. Out of 16 subjects questioned, 10 said "yes," three said "no," and three had no opinion.

A number of these interviews were done by the team member referred to in Part I who was in Los Angeles during the rioting in Watts. She had talked with about 120 Negroes in the riot area. The author conducted a tape-recorded interview -- transcribed in Appendix C -- with the team member after her return to Houston. The excerpts that follow are taken from that interview (187):

Q) In terms of attitude toward authority...what difference, if any, did you find between Negroes in Houston with whom you carried on a natural dialogue...and those in Los Angeles...?

A) I would say that they were exactly and precisely the same.

Q) Would it be correct to say that even if Houston does not have clearcut examples of police brutality, the fact remains that there is a distorted and, perhaps, exaggerated belief among lower socio-economic
people in Houston that the police are brutal and are the enemy?

A) Yes, I very definitely feel so...

Q) What I am getting at also is the question of whether there is a real communications problem in the Negro community on the lower socio-economic level -- meaning that an event may be quite minor, there may not be any police brutality, but by the time that the grapevine carries the story, it becomes exaggerated.

A) Yes, I do feel this and I do feel that by this time that things could very easily be out of hand and, of course, have no direct relation to the police at all.

Q) ...if we got into trying to arrive at some analysis of how a riot is triggered and how it is perpetuated, what could you say in terms of, first, the trigger? What could set it off in Houston as well as in Los Angeles?

A) Well, I feel that the most minute thing could set it off, and when I say that, I mean the smallest incident could incite a riot right here in our own city of Houston.

Q) Could you give an example of a small incident?

A) Well, I think a small incident could be the same as it was in Los Angeles -- that a person talks loud because of his drunken state and says that he was mistreated by the police and, of course, this gets around to a small group of people and then a person who is affiliated with the Muslim group, or any other terrorist organization, might come in and just throw a coke bottle or anything and before you know it, things could easily be out of hand.

Q) ...in terms of our systematic attempt to gather street level
data, it shows that many Negroes here may not personally want to participate in violence, but that if it takes violence to gain in the end, they would favor it.

A) I do feel so, yes -- that if these people, and from talking with persons yesterday, if they feel that this has helped the cause of the Negro in Los Angeles, that this could certainly help to aid their cause here in Houston. And when I say cause, I mean to help better their living conditions or their standards of living; that they would certainly be willing, even if it means to kill a few persons....
F. Dimension 3 Results

The major focus here was on the possible 'triggering' role of organizations such as the Ku Klux Klan. The work of Dr. Lee Anderson Smith and other team members on the KKK was reported in some detail in Part I. Eleven meetings of groups considered 'extremist' were attended by team members from June 15, 1965 to September 20, 1965, and reports written. None, with the exception of the Klan and possibly the Black Muslims, seemed to pose a major provocation. Seven of the 12 whites on the research team began work on a content analysis of publications issued by extremist groups. These included *The Fiery Cross* (KKK), *The Thunderbolt* (National States Rights Party) and *Muhammad Speaks* (Black Muslims). In addition, systematic reading was begun of the two major Negro weekly newspapers in Houston, *The Forward Times* and *The Informer*.

A 'Reader's Recording Form' (see Figure 7) was devised for noting references to the following categories of content: (a) violence, (b) tension, (c) civil rights, (d) expressions of injustice toward Negroes, (e) attitudes toward school integration, (f) attitudes toward religion, and (g) reference or suggestion to buying or storing weapons. This activity was cut short by the impending Labor Day crisis in Houston and the request by authorities for a report on all data up to that point. Table 15 summarizes the small amount of work completed during five weeks of content analysis. When the authorities made their request for data, personnel doing content analysis were diverted to the job of helping to prepare reports.
### INSTRUCTIONS:
(See complete instruction page and example sheet.)
Use this sheet for one issue of one publication. Record name and date of publication. Read all the paper, including editorials, columnists, and any “advice” columns. Use colored pencils to circle examples (in headlines, paragraphs, ads, etc.). As you mark, record on this sheet the location of each example (by section and page, such as “15-6” or “2/6”). Many examples will fit more than one category: record in each place applicable, plus in a special box under "B. Double or Multiple Circling."

### WHAT TO KEEP IN MIND AS YOU READ:
I. THIS CONCEPT: Violence is overtly released tension; tension is potential violence.
II. THESE DEFINITIONS: Violence is an overt and concentrated release of human physical energy which results in physical damage or injury. Tension is a condition of an individual or a group marked by unrest, uneasiness, and/or apparent restrained pressure that has not—and may never—taken the form of violence.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>NAME OF PUBLICATION</th>
<th>DATE OF PUBLICATION</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

**A:**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>1. Indications of violence (RED)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>2. Indications of tension (GREEN)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>3. (a) Civil rights leaders featured or pictured (BLUE)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>(b) Expressions of injustice toward Negroes (YELLOW)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>(c) Attitudes toward school integration (BROWN)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>(d) Attitudes toward religion (PINK)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>(e) Mention of hospital district vote, local only (ORANGE)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>(f) Reference or suggestion to buying or storing weapons (BLACK)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**B:** Double or Multiple Circling

### NOTE:
Please record on the back of this sheet any comments of your own and the basis for making them.

**FIGURE 7**

FORM FOR CONTENT ANALYSIS
TABLE 15

RESULTS OF CONTENT ANALYSIS
MADE OF FIVE PUBLICATIONS REPORTING ON NEGRO ISSUES

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Violence</th>
<th>Tension</th>
<th>Civil Rights</th>
<th>Injustice</th>
<th>Integration</th>
<th>Religion</th>
<th>Weapons</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Highest number of references</td>
<td>$T^a$</td>
<td>$T$</td>
<td>$FT^b$</td>
<td>$FT$</td>
<td>$FT$</td>
<td>$MS^c$</td>
<td>$T$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Next to highest</td>
<td>$FC^d$</td>
<td>$FC$</td>
<td>$I^e$</td>
<td>$I$</td>
<td>$I$</td>
<td>$FT$</td>
<td>$FC$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Median number</td>
<td>$MS$</td>
<td>$MS$</td>
<td>$T$</td>
<td>$MS$</td>
<td>$T$</td>
<td>$I$</td>
<td>$MS$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Next to lowest</td>
<td>$FT$</td>
<td>$FT$</td>
<td>$FC$</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lowest number of references</td>
<td>$I$</td>
<td>$I$</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

$^a$Thunderbolt
$^b$Forward Times
$^c$Muhammad Speaks
$^d$Fiery Cross
$^e$Informer
V -- INDIVIDUAL VIOLENCE

A. "Nobodies" and Power

If I could have got the knife, I would have stabbed him. That would have given me more of a buildup. People would have respected me for what I've done. They would say, 'There goes a cold killer' (67).

Being recognized as a "cold killer" may be one way to gain identity. Yablonsky described offenders who make such statements as "the new criminal." They rob, assault and kill for status -- for a "rep." They are not necessarily interested in the victim's money or material possessions. They want recognition, as this one:

My friends talk to me about what they gonna do. Like 'Man, we'll go out here and kill this cat.' I say, 'Yeah.' They keep on talkin'. I say, 'Man, I just gotta go with you.' Myself, I don't want to go, but when they start talkin' about what they gonna do, I say, 'So, he isn't gonna take over my rep. I ain't gonna let him be known more than me.' And I go ahead, just for selfishness....

One reason in being concerned with such offenders is that given the opportunity to participate in a race riot, these are the kind of people who are likely to join in wholeheartedly. Another reason for considering individual violence concerns the matter of MAC factors. If mobility, anomie and complexity can serve as any index to potential violence, it would be expected that persons who have murdered, raped, assaulted and robbed would be high in MAC factors. For instance Powell, in his study of "Crime as a Function of Anomie," concluded that "anomie is the decisive variable in the 'behavior' of the crime rate" (188).
But the concern in the Houston study is not on crime in general or anomie specifically. It is on potential violence among lower-class Negroes and concerns mobility plus complexity, as well as anomie. A prime objective in taking a look at individuals who have already committed violence was to examine not only the incidence of MAC factors among such Negroes but also this question: If a person professes to admire people who use non-violent means to gain power and identity, does this mean that his own orientation is toward non-violence and his potential for violence is low? The question arose in the course of the "natural dialogues" conducted among the 110 outpatient clinic subjects.

In the "natural dialogue" interviews, each Negro was asked what leaders on the national scene did he admire most. Although 10 persons chose Malcolm X as their most admired national figure, the vast majority mentioned non-violent leaders such as President Lyndon Johnson and Reverend Martin Luther King as their "heroes." (See Appendix D for full results). This raised the question as to whether a subject who sanctions racial violence can in good faith look upon a non-violent power figure as the leader he most admires on the national scene.

To study this question further, a picture test was developed for lower-socio-economic-class Negroes whose very behavior had already demonstrated their sanction of personal, if not racial, violence.

By exploring the professed "heroes" of persons with records of violence, the model on identity becomes relevant from the standpoint of determining who represents a "somebody" to an individual who may
well consider himself a "nobody." To review briefly the identity concepts in the somebody-nobody model: As the combined influence of mobility, anomie and complexity increases, the tendency also increases to use violence to gain recognition as a "somebody" deserving attention in his own right (identity). But the violent route to being "somebody" is self-defeating -- the very recognition that comes with being identified as "a cold killer" also brings incarceration or execution. The question is: Does the Negro who has committed violence see it as the only means of gaining power, regardless of how self-defeating it may be, or does he recognize other pathways to power and identity -- such as, possibly, increased competence? The investigation of these questions began with the administration of a picture test to 108 Negro inmates in the Texas Department of Corrections. The test consisted of photographs of 20 persons who, at one time or another, figured prominently in the news. All could be considered "power" figures in terms of positions held or public attention commanded. By asking each subject which figures he admired most, an effort was made to explore the kind of "power orientation" the individual professes to favor -- but not the one that he necessarily followed in his own life.

Figure 8 shows a copy of the picture test developed for a sample of lower socio-economic-class Negroes with records of violence. An attempt was made to include in the 20 pictures persons who represented varying degrees of aggressive behavior. Since the 108 subjects to be tested were Negroes, 10 of the 20 photographs in the test were of Negroes who had appeared in the news. Among both the Negroes and
Which Do You Recognize?
Which Do You Think Most Of?

A.
B.
C.
D.

FIGURE 8
COPY OF PICTURE TEST
the whites pictured were those who had made their success primarily by "brawn" (Sonny Liston), as well as those who relied more on "brains" (Ralph Bunche). The test was designed to present photographs of people who had -- or did have -- power or some equivalent of it, such as money. A primary objective was to determine which of the "power" people would emerge as "heroes." Power was made a central focus of the instrument because of its dominant place in this study's definition and model of identity.

In the inmate sample, all 108 Negroes were adult prisoners in units of the Texas Department of Corrections. Nineteen of the total 108 were female. The offenses represented by the inmates were as follows: Murder -- 29, assault to murder -- 25, rape -- 18, armed robbery -- 17, robbery by assault -- 15, sodomy -- 3, and failure to stop and render aid -- 1. Eighty-nine percent of those in the sample were recidivists. Mean age was 41.

Subjects were told that in considering the second question on the test -- "Which Do You Think Most Of!?" -- they could pick more than one person or none at all. If they chose more than one, they were to indicate their order of preference. In each case, the "D" section -- at the bottom of the page -- was to be used to state their reasons for picking the person or persons they did. "A," "B," and "C" were used for specifying prison number, offense and previous convictions. Each subject taking the test did so voluntarily and was told that his responses would not influence in any way his status in prison.

Scoring was on this basis: 4 points for the person picked as "most admired" by the subject; 3 points for the second most admired;
2 points for the third and 1 for the fourth.

Although the question is not of primary concern here, the average number of persons properly identified on the test was 9. Table 16 presents the six "most admired" choices of the inmates. Table 17 presents the "themes" running through the reasons given by the subjects for picking the persons they did as most admired. The similarity in terms and phrases used -- such as "he's for the underdog" -- was rather unexpected, considering that the test was administered to each inmate privately and independently.

The author interpreted the results as follows: The "power" figures picked by the inmates as "heroes" represented a kind of rescuer to the prisoners. No Hitler or Castro could be considered as having the type of power that might, by some stretch of the imagination, bring freedom to the "forgotten underdog" in a Texas prison. A Robert Kennedy had clearly established himself as a "somebody" who looked after "nobodies." The same could be said of Eleanor Roosevelt when she was alive. And Martin Luther King had described all Negroes -- not just those in prison with lower socio-economic backgrounds -- as "tired of being nobody." King himself was "somebody," a power figure who had a record of "rescue."

One other interpretation occurred to the author: Both Adler (50) and Erikson (149) described "constructive cores" in people. Possibly, inmates have constructive strivings, as expressed in their "hero" choices. Some might also wish to deny what obviously they are -- persons who practiced anti-social behavior. In choosing people who have contributed to society rather than attacked it, a reaction forma-
### TABLE 16

**MOST ADIMRED BY NEGRO INMATES (N=108)**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Choices</th>
<th>Points</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Robert F. Kennedy</td>
<td>159</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eleanor Roosevelt</td>
<td>95</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Martin Luther King</td>
<td>79</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sammy Davis Jr.</td>
<td>61</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bob Hope</td>
<td>59</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Elijah Muhammad</td>
<td>26</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### TABLE 17

**RECURRING REASONS GIVEN BY INMATES FOR MOST ADIMRED**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Choices</th>
<th>Reasons</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
| Robert F. Kennedy  | "He's for the common man."
|                    | "He's for the little man."
|                    | "He's for the underdog."
|                    | "He's done a lot for our people."                                      |
| Eleanor Roosevelt | "She was a champion of all the people."
|                    | "She contributed to mankind."
|                    | "She kept helping people, though she didn't have to."                 |
| Martin Luther King | "He's worked hard for others."
|                    | "He came up from nothing and became somebody."
|                    | "He did more for the Negroes than most anybody."                      |
| Sammy Davis Jr.    | "He has great ability."
|                    | "He's gone to the top."                                               |
| Bob Hope           | "He gives up Christmas to go overseas."                                |
|                    | "He's made a lot of people laugh."                                    |
| Elijah Muhammad    | "He's stood up to the white man."                                     |
|                    | "He's tried to give Negroes pride."                                   |
tion could have been partially responsible for the choices. This interpretation is related to findings of other studies that have shown prison inmates to score high on tests of moral values (189).

What all this seems to mean in terms of identity and violence is this: The "most admired" of a lower-class Negro who has committed violence may represent the very opposite kind of person the inmate himself is. The Negro may admire the non-violent power orientation of an Eleanor Roosevelt, just as he may wish he could be a Sammy Davis Jr. But the point is that in terms of actual behavior, what such a person does may differ sharply from what he admires.

The lower-class Negro who says he admires Martin Luther King yet sanctions racial violence -- as was the case in the outpatient clinic sample -- may not be expressing a paradox, for the picture test demonstrated that Negroes known to have practiced violence may also have non-violent figures as heroes.

In a further attempt to explain this apparent contradiction between actual behavior and professed admiration, the inmate data were submitted to a panel of judges consisting of 18 psychologists, in one group, and 16 psychiatrists, in another. They were asked to offer reasons for why the inmates picked the persons they did as their top choices. The psychologists and psychiatrists stated their interpretations in advance of being shown the subjects' own reasons. The "interpreters" familiarized themselves with the instrument by taking the test themselves. All the psychologists held Ph.D. degrees and were on the staff of the Veterans Administration Hospital in Houston, under the direction of Dr. Sidney E. Cleveland, whose field is projec-
tive and psychometric testing. The psychiatrists were all on the staff of Hedgecroft Hospital in Houston, and held appointments at the Houston State Psychiatric Institute or Baylor University College of Medicine. Both groups were told that the conditions under which the test was given were designed to be uniform and that precautions were taken to keep inmates from feeling that they had to please the administrator with the responses they gave.

After inspecting the choices of the inmates and the background data on the offenses committed by prisoners taking the test, both the psychologists and the psychiatrists came up with interpretations that closely agreed and may be summarized as follows (190):

1. Power and prestige are identified with the names of Robert F. Kennedy and Eleanor Roosevelt. They have reputations of doing, or having done, for others.

2. Kennedy, Roosevelt, and King are names identified with an interest in people who feel they are forgotten, are "nobody." The inmates are inclined to see themselves as "nobody" -- probably on a paranoid basis and with much feeling of hostility toward the "free world."

3. Powerful figures such as Hitler and Malcolm X may have once been "somebody" but the very fact that they are now dead -- and died violently -- takes them out of the "success" and power class. Castro may be regarded as heading in the same direction of failure.

4. Sammy Davis Jr. is seen as someone who has "got it made" and receives a lot of money for dancing, singing and joking. Bob Hope is viewed in a similar manner.
5. Elijah Muhammad, as head of a movement regarded with fear by white members of the "free world," is seen as a power figure but not with the reputation of helping "others."

The panel of judges did not believe that race or sex was a major consideration in the choices of the inmates. They agreed that even though the persons chosen as "most admired" do not have reputations for violence, this does not mean that the inmates "identify" with such people. As one psychologist put it: "The prisoners may be able to recognize that someone else has an identity based on non-violent power and prestige but they don't see themselves as acquiring the same thing in the same way."

Whether or not the inmates made their choices for the reasons given by the psychologists and psychiatrists, this much is certain: The group of 108 was high in MAC factors. A review of their file cards showed that 89 percent were listed as having come from "instable" homes. A total of 90 percent reported four or more moves in childhood. Ninety-one percent of the sample had been born and reared in small towns or the country, with 85 percent of this "rural" group having committed their violence in cities now considered their home. The 108 inmates, then, showed a considerable history of mobility, anomie and complexity.

Without a control group taking the picture test in the "free world" no conclusions can be made as to how the choices -- or reasons -- of the inmates might differ from non-inmates of the same age or race or sex or socio-economic status. The possibility was explored that the selections made by the Negro inmates might be "universal" choices
that everyone would select. They were not. In Appendix D, results are given on administration of the picture test to persons outside of prison. The sample of "free world" citizens who took the test was not comparable in socio-economic class or other variables, but their responses did establish that the "most admired" of the inmates did not represent stereotypic choices of Americans generally. Other "heroes" were picked, and for other reasons, by the persons outside prison.

As mentioned earlier, the point in administering the test was not to make a comparison between responses of inmates with those of "free world" people. The purpose was to investigate the "power orientations" of lower-class Negroes who had committed violence so as to see if their "heroes" were as "non-violent" as those of the outpatient clinic sample in which the majority of subjects sanctioned racial violence yet admired leaders who do not.

In the case of persons who already have committed violence, it is suggested that they may pick non-violent, respectable persons as their choices for "most admired," but their behavior in the "free world" would still most likely be violent or aggressive. As for persons who express an attitude sanctioning violence, their professed admiration might also be for non-violent "heroes." But, it is suggested, this does not mean their own potential behavior is non-violent.

The dichotomy between apparent admiration and actual (or potential) behavior also serves to point up a conceptual difference -- that between "identification" and "identity." Winch notes that
identification relates to the "lasting influence of one person...on another" and that identity is not the same (191, p. 28). Under the definition in the present study, the primary difference would be that identity comes from asserting and identification from receiving. By 'asserting' is meant the active striving for power that was discussed in earlier sections. That a striving for power and/or identity may involve elements of the identification process is undeniable. But identification is a more passive concept than identity -- just as an expression of admiration is more passive than actually behaving like the person admired. The behavior of people may well remain oriented toward violence and aggression while what they say they admire may represent just the opposite.

Referring back, then, to the admired leaders of the 110 out-patient clinic subjects in the "free world," it does not seem contradictory that so many should sanction violence, yet name the choices they did. It also does not seem contradictory that a large segment of "peaceable" Negroes who have never exhibited mass violence before might very well do so, if given the proper place and provocation. In the peak period of racial rumors in Houston, some authorities held to the idea that most Houston Negroes had "identified with" the norms, values and socially-acceptable group behavior of the white man. Certainly there has historically been identification with certain aspects of the white culture, but it is suggested that to confuse a passive manner with convictions of non-violence is to deny a difference between surface appearance and internal feelings.

To examine the question of identity or identification exclusively
in terms of white middle-class standards is an error that can best be illustrated by a study of the kind of life lower socio-economic Negroes live from childhood on. Many live in almost a different world. A close look was taken at the lives of 14 inmates in the Texas Department of Corrections and of 10 boys and girls at the Harris County Juvenile Home. This was done in a series of in-depth interviews and case studies conducted between May 1965 and November 1965. The case of James Norris (5), which was presented in the Introduction, was one of these studies. What follows is another.
B. Sammy Rhodes

At 11, Sammy's offense record includes shoplifting, burglary, bicycle theft, "unauthorized use of an elevator" and robbery by assault. In the files of the Harris County Juvenile Home, there is a home address listed for Sammy -- in fact, a whole string of them. But authorities there say that this small Negro boy has no home. The files also list a mother, but for all practical purposes, Sammy has no mother. The files also list a school attended by Sammy, but the school hardly knows Sammy.

The boy does have a grandmother, but she is old and has moved from place to place always seeking some small plot of ground to plant a garden. She feels that as long as she can grow tomatoes and okra and maybe even a little corn, she has security. The grandmother is a farm woman and has never gotten used to the city. Sammy was born on the farm where the grandmother was living before she finally agreed to move into town so that she could help her multiple sons and daughters look after their even more multiple offspring.

Somewhere, Sammy got lost in the shuffle. In the city he had trouble remembering his address because his mother moved so often and his grandmother lived in Acres Homes, where she could do her hoeing and planting. One address he could remember was that of the juvenile home, and Sammy began spending more time there than with either his mother or grandmother. The police introduced him to the juvenile home, and were often the reason for his coming back. But several times Sammy simply appeared voluntarily, standing at the glass door,
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punching the electric button until an attendant came and let him in.

Violence has been part of the scenery in Sammy's life for as long as he could remember. He saw a man stabbed to death in the Fifth Ward when he was 9. He saw a woman raped. And inside the many three-room crackerbox houses rented by his mother for herself and six children, he saw many fights. The last one was between his oldest brother, who had just returned from prison, and his current foster father. The brother accused the older man of "stealing the baby's food"—the baby being Sammy's 11-month-old sister. The foster father called the ex-convict brother a bastard and the younger man lunged at him with a switchblade knife. Sammy saw the bright red blood turn dark as it streamed from his foster father's neck. Then the police and ambulance came and took both men away.

Sammy went down on the street and decided to go to Emancipation Park to play. It was a long way to walk, but the last time he "borrowed" a bicycle to ride there, police came and arrested him for theft. So he began walking from the Fourth Ward down West Dallas past the streets with funny-sounding names: Jasmine, Renfrow, Rochow, Rosine, Peveto, Joe Annie, La Rue. He came across a white boy stopped on the sidewalk with a bicycle. "I was just trying to walk around him, when I bumped into the bike, and it fell over," Sammy said. Sammy kept walking. But a block away, a patrol car pulled up and the policeman said to get in. He took him back to where the white boy was. Now there was a white man there too. The white man told the policeman he had seen what had happened and that Sammy had hit the white boy, who was delivering papers, and had tried to steal his bicycle.
Sammy was taken to jail, where juvenile officers put "robbery by assault" on his offense card. The boy didn't ask how he could commit robbery without taking anything and how he could be charged with assault when all he hit was a bicycle. He really didn't care because he knew he would eventually be taken out of jail and transferred to the juvenile home, where he liked to stay because there was a gym there and some of the supervisors let him play basketball with the other boys. Sammy stayed for weeks at the juvenile home this time. He stayed because no one from his family would come by and pick him up. The mother was too busy trying to care for the baby and work and keep some semblance of a home for the other kids. The grandmother was too old to ride the rickety bus in from Acres Homes and cross the busy streets of the city to pick up one of many, many grandchildren.

But much as Sammy liked playing in the gym, he got lonely. He asked his supervisor if he could have some visitors. The supervisor said sure he could but no one had come by asking for the boy. Finally, Sammy's 13-year-old sister did come. She was the one who came last time. That was the time that Sammy was charged with "unauthorized use of an elevator." Because he was enrolled in a school in Acres Homes but was then living with his mother in the Fourth Ward, he had to walk through downtown every morning to catch the bus to go to school. He began hanging around a big department store until it opened, then he would go inside and spend the day riding up and down on the escalator, not the elevator. Finally, police were called, and Sammy went to jail.

When his sister came by after the "robbery by assault," she and
Sammy sat in one of the small visiting rooms just as if she were a grown-up or a lawyer who had come to help the boy. But the only help she could be was to talk to him and tell him about what was happening down in the Fourth Ward and over in Emancipation Park. Sammy said he wished he could get out and go to the playground with her. But there was no adult for the juvenile home authorities to turn him over to.

And, as the weeks stretched into months and the home became more crowded than ever, a decision had to be made about what to do with this boy. He couldn't be turned out on the streets. All effort to get his family to take him back had failed. So authorities were left with their only course of action, and that was to send him to Austin State School as a retarded child.

Sammy wasn't retarded, at least he wasn't in the sense that he had a defective brain. Tests showed that. But tests also showed he had missed a lot of school and he couldn't perform anywhere near the level of an average 11-year-old.

When he was given the author's picture test showing 20 people who had been in the news, he identified Martin Luther King as a space-man. He said Robert Kennedy was a baseball player. When asked whom he most admired, he said he guessed it was his oldest brother, the one back from prison who got in the fight with the foster father over the baby's food. Sammy didn't know anything about civil rights or integration. He said he thought God was a white man and he wished he could be white.

So Sammy went off to the Austin State School and what his future will be is pretty certain, if juvenile authorities don't miss their
guess. Sammy will get released and will go back looking for a home that never was. And somebody will introduce him to Thunderbird Wine and he will get drunk and into a fight and go to the penitentiary. Or, if he isn't so defeated that there is no anger left to lash out at the world in general instead of just somebody who makes him mad when he gets drunk, he may decide that the white man is his enemy. If that happens and someone asks him whether he favors violence for the Negro against the white world, as he is sitting one day in the outpatient clinic at the charity hospital waiting for a doctor to look at a festering stab wound, he will probably say in no uncertain terms that he does. And he will become another statistic on somebody's data card until the day comes when he has a chance to prove what he says.
VI -- COMMENTS AND CONCLUSIONS

A. Comments

A strong potential for racial violence exists on the level of those who have the least to lose, and it is possible to sample this potential by the kind of three-dimensional methodology that has been presented. This is a basic observation arising from the research done in this study. The methodology is believed to employ some new approaches and includes:

1) A "natural dialogue" technique that permits in-depth interviews with subjects who have ample time to talk.

2) A "listening post" system that enlists the help of persons who encounter lower socio-economic-class Negroes in the course of the "listener's" daily job -- such people as a barber, bar operator, ambulance attendant, welfare worker and employment counselor.

3) A system for keeping a check on racial provocations that come from sources that could trigger violence -- these include the Black Muslims and the Ku Klux Klan.

In terms of investigating antecedents of attitudes sampled, a corollary methodology is available in the form of:

a. Case studies and in-depth interviews with persons who have committed violence.

b. Investigations into incidents where Negroes voice protests
against police or conditions that cause them to take some organized action seeking remedy.

Based on the experience of this study, it is believed that identity can be used as a model to assist in gauging the level of potential violence -- provided identity is defined in terms of the power acquired by a person to gain acknowledgement from others that he exists as an individual in his own right. Three "MAC" factors were investigated in terms of how they seem to represent a lack of personal power or identity. They are:

a. Mobility -- the moves a person makes in his pre-adult years.

b. Anomie -- the family fragmentation existing in his home as a child.

c. Complexity -- the shift from a relatively simple rural environment to an urban one exerting greater pressures on the individual.

Data gathered from research within the Texas Department of Corrections and the Harris County Juvenile Home tended to confirm that MAC factors are associated with individual violence, just as they seem to be with the sanctioning of group violence in racial issues. File cards on 108 TDC adult inmates showed the group to be high in MAC factors. Case studies made of 14 of the 108 -- all of whom had records of violence -- indicated that there was much mobility, home instability and pressure from more complex environments in each offender's life history. In-depth interviews with 10 boys and girls at the Harris County Juvenile Home also elicited histories high in MAC factors. All had records of violence.

In regard to the sanctioning of violence by lower-class Negroes,
it was possible to demonstrate that an apparent dichotomy exists between admiration and potential or actual action. An investigation of "heroes" of individuals with known records of violence was made after "natural dialogue" interviews showed that subjects who sanctioned the use of violence also "most admired" the type of national leaders who gained power through non-violent means. The picture test that was developed to explore the question of "heroes" among Negroes with records of violence yielded data which suggested:

a. That offenders who have used violence as a possible attempt to gain identity, look upon themselves as "nobody" and admire people who have become "somebody" through non-violent means -- means that are not self-defeating.

b. That the professed "heroes" of persons with records of violence may be non-violent in orientation but this does not mean that aggression is not sanctioned by the offenders. In terms of gauging the potential for racial violence, it is suggested that caution should be used in assuming that Negroes who seem "content" on the surface are passive inside. As with the inmates, they may admire power gained by non-violence but their own orientation may be just the opposite.

In the closing section of this final part, it will be pointed out that research done among the 108 Negro inmates suggests the possibility that the tendency to use violence may be modified by a person's acquiring other means of expression in his striving for power and identity. One possibility may be increased literacy.
B. Conclusions

Data gathered in the course of 110 "natural dialogues" tended to bear out the theoretical formulation that as the combined MAC factors increase, the tendency to sanction violence goes up.

Statistical analysis showed that even when taken separately, at least two of the three MAC factors showed a strongly dependent relationship with attitude toward violence. However, it is believed that a more valid interpretation comes from considering mobility, anomie and complexity as a unitary influence. Statistical analysis supported the hypothesis that a significant correlation -- at the .01 level -- existed between the MAC factors in combination and sanction of violence.

In terms of the potential for racial violence in Houston, Texas in the summer of 1965, the data from the natural dialogues indicated it was high, and reports from "listening posts" tended to confirm this. Dimension 3 of the study -- investigating possible sources of racial provocation -- showed that such sources did exist and were active.
C. Some Suggested Alternates and Action

1. Literacy and Non-Violence

One hope in conducting this study was that out of the data developed, steps could be suggested for reducing the level of racial tension found. In terms of Houston's racial tension, a list of "action recommendations" was compiled. In terms of identity and violence generally, the question was one of what alternate pathways to power could be substituted for physical aggression. Competency seems to be one hope. The competent person seems better able to cope with the world without resorting to violence. If competency is an alternative, what are some of its ingredients? In working with the Negro inmates and the juvenile home children, the author was struck by the apparent correlation between lack of education -- in many cases, to the point of illiteracy -- and the repeated use of violence. Conversely, it seemed evident that as a person's education and literacy increased, his chances of using violence dropped proportionately.

Lerner has suggested that as a person acquires literacy, new avenues of non-violent expression open up to him (193). He tells of the illiterate Turkish camel driver who is insulted by a man and who saves his money for two years to buy a knife. The camel driver then proceeds to stab the man to death.

If a theoretical formulation were to be made of the problem, it could be postulated that as the inability to express oneself verbally increases, the tendency to use physical means also increases.
In a statistical survey made at the end of 1962 of the Negro population in the Texas Department of Corrections, 817 were classified as illiterate (194, p. 26). This was out of a total of 4,139 Negroes among the 12,189 inmates then in the prison system. (Negroes in the total population of Texas at that time constituted 12 percent.) Illiteracy was determined by scores of lower than 3.0 on the Gray-Votaw-Rogers Educational Achievement Test.

In addition to the 817, there were 23 Negro inmates who had not been tested and 60 on whom no E.A. (educational achievement) record existed. One Negro was classified as illiterate by reason of being a "Mexican National" whose command of English was too limited to take the test. Among the remaining 3,238 Negro inmates, the E.A. mode was 3.0 and the mean 5.01. Negroes made up 52.5 percent of all inmates classified as illiterate in the total prison population, and 58.2 percent of all those making as low as 3.0 on the Gray-Votaw-Rogers test. Of the 321 inmates in the prison population who scored a maximum of 12.0 on the test (equivalent to 12 grades in high school), Negroes constituted .028 percent. (See table in Appendix E for rank order of scores made on the E.A. test.)

In 1950, the percent of illiterates in the Texas prison system was 13.9. In 1964, it was 17 percent (195). In both cases, Negroes constituted the large majority of the illiterates. To say that their illiteracy was "the cause" of their admission to prison would be a gross oversimplification and would not explain why the illiteracy rate for the total prison population has increased in a 15-year period, when education has received increasing attention in the United States.
But there is some evidence that acquiring greater fluency and verbal skills does play a part in reducing recidivism (196), if not in keeping a person out of prison in the first place.

Increased literacy per se cannot be regarded as a guarantee that a person will express himself in a verbal manner instead of a physically violent one. But with increased literacy come improved chances for employment and a whole host of other factors that could influence the probability of violent expression.

In terms of acquiring identity, of finding ways to assert oneself without violence, the record cannot be denied that persons who are highly literate and well educated are not likely to end up a prison statistic.

In 1965, there were only six inmates out of more than 13,000 in the fourteen units of the Texas Department of Corrections who had doctor's degrees (197). If, by chance, the more literate express themselves with the same violence as the less literate, then they are able to escape the same rate of apprehension. Clearly, prison records reflect only persons who are caught and convicted. But it would seem unlikely that increased chances of detection and conviction can fully account for why illiteracy appears associated with violence, and literacy is less so. The primary question here is whether it is associated with the "identity failure" as well as the potential for violence. The MAC factors that seem to militate against identity are among the four Beto has given as reasons for the crime rate -- and the rate of violence -- increasing disproportionately to the population growth.

Nationally, Beto noted (198), robberies increased 15 percent
between 1958 and 1962, and assaults 16 percent. The population growth in that four-year period was seven percent. Among contributing factors he listed were: the "rural-urban shift," "breakdown of the home," failure of "the church" to reach the lower socio-economic levels where a large percent of offenders come from, and "erosion of national character." Dr. Beto is director of the Texas Department of Corrections.

2. Indications for Needed Action

In none of the many conferences held with public officials and law-enforcement authorities, starting last August, was there any indication that realistic data-gathering systems were being developed that would measure potential racial violence on the most explosive level. As late as March 11, 1966, the author was contacted by both phone and letter from Washington (199, 200) concerning possible interest by the federal government in the methodology that has been reported here. As late as March 17, 1966, the author had a conference with the mayor of Houston in which it was indicated that the city government needed improved communications with the Negro community and the police department a better image (201). But no systematic sampling of potential racial violence was accepted as a pressing need. There was the disclosure that two "action recommendations" included in those proposed to the mayor on August 30, 1965 were going to be implemented "gradually" in accordance with a decision made the day of the March 17 conference. (See Appendix A for action list.) One recommendation pertains to a police "buddy system" of a white and a Negro officer riding in the same patrol car together. The other is
the use of Negro policemen to direct downtown traffic.

The stakes seem too high for any concerned public official or agency to ignore careful consideration of how racial tension can best be sampled and what steps can be taken to reduce it. Relying on traditional sources of police intelligence or on "pipelines" into the Negro neighborhoods can be justified only if it is assumed that no such "system" existed in Watts, Rochester or Harlem -- or that such poor information was obtained that the officials in those cities, plus the FBI, saw no reason to consider trouble as imminent.

On the March 11 that the communications came from Washington and on the March 17, 1966 that the conference was held with the mayor in Houston, critical areas in the Third Ward were being canvassed by Black Muslims for recruits (202). "Lucky" Hill had been killed, Junior Spradley had pinned on his "human dignity" button, and city officials had been called on to help the Negro to "become a man" and find an identity. On Prospect, Arbor and Wichita Streets -- in the area of the Hill shooting -- local Muslims offered a quick identity through an Erikson "totalism" -- Black against White, power versus power. It can be argued, with justification, that in Houston in March 1966, the Muslims had no power to match that of the white man. But it can also be argued that the white man is moving at such a snail's pace in giving the dispossessed and disowned an alternate to using violence to gain power that the conditions of the lower-class Negro of half-a-century ago apply almost equally as well today.

The observations on identity problems made in this study echo many problems of the past that are still present in 1966:
"...The Negro child in the lower income groups is subjected to frequent neglect by working mothers and total absence or intermittent presence of the father" (203).

"...For a large proportion of Negro families in the city, the house is not a home but a place to cook and eat as individuals and sleep at night. When the weather permits, it is generally a place from which one escapes" (204).

"...It is all too clear that Negro children not yet 5 can sense that they are marked and grow uneasy. They can like enormously what they see across the color line, and find it hard to like what they see on their side. In this there is scant comfort or security, and in it are the dynamics for rending personality asunder" (205).

"...The Negro lives constantly on two planes of awareness. One is the awareness he feels as a human being with human feelings and desires, the other is the awareness that he is a Negro, a marked person, a devalued person" (206).

The James Norriises, the Burnie McNeils, the Sammy Rhodeses, the Moses Godfreys, the Lee Brothertons, the Junior Spradleys -- all share the heritage that keeps filling the pages of social science literature. One attempt in the author's study has been to take what has been known for so long and use it as a yardstick for measuring how much closer the Houstons may be toward racial violence. For even though the white man may be moving at a snail's pace in terms of alternates offered the lowest on all ladders, the Negro himself is starting to refuse to stand still. And it is this refusal, this rising expectation of the Junior Spradleys, that makes it imperative that the mayors, the
police chiefs, the sheriffs, the Washington authorities start using yardsticks to measure where we stand. There is no denying that every city has its own conditions that mediate how far it has yet to go to reach the point of violence. But until each city gets a baseline reading, what way is there to tell if the temperature is going up, down or staying the same?

One thing that is sure to go up is Negro expectation. The rising expectations of Junior Spradley are not going to stop with the concession that he will no longer be called "a smart nigger" by white policemen. The rise in expectations is going to find wash women expecting to become typists, whether they have the ability or not. It is going to find nobodies expecting to become somebody, whether they must use violence or not.

Houston, it is reported, has now been named in a "highly confidential" federal survey as among 21 cities in the nation where Negro unrest has grown to the point that a spark could set off a racial explosion (207). The "Lucky" Hill incident has only added to the potential trouble. But the shooting of a Negro by a white policeman was another crisis in Houston that passed without an explosion. How many more will happen and how much fuel each contributes to the basic problem is a question that should warrant close study of both the measurement of racial tension and some steps for reducing it.

Gus Taylor, whose next-door neighbor got a shotgun blast in his leg last August, hopes to see the day when the tempest is over, the storm is passed and there is peace. He emphasizes that this is a hope, not an expectation.
But the "we shall overcome" that echoes down the ranks of Negro civil rights marchers is an expectation. The question that has been investigated in this inquiry has been whether the "invisible" Negroes in one city, in one period of time, will overcome their own lack of identity through use of violence and whether there is any way to tell in advance.

The author's expectation -- his conclusion -- is that there is a way, if there is a will.
An Inquiry Into Negro Identity
And A Methodology For Investigating
Potential Racial Violence

VOLUME II

Blair Justice
PLEASE NOTE:

Some appendix pages are not original copy with light and indistinct print. Filmed as received.

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Honorable Lyndon B. Johnson  
President of the United States  
The White House  
Washington, D. C.

Dear Sir:

Mr. Blair Justice, Science Editor of the Houston Post, and Dr. Mary Ellen Goodman, Professor of Sociology at Rice University, have collaborated on a project which should be of interest to you and the government.

The purposes of the project are two:

1. To determine sources of racial tension, and possible violence, in a way that could also be applied to similar cities across the nation.

2. To gather valid information that could be used to prevent possible racial trouble before it breaks out, on the theory that "fire protection" is more effective and less difficult than "fire fighting."

I have examined carefully their approach, method, findings, and conclusions, and I am convinced that the findings and conclusions are accurate and valid.

I am enclosing one of their work cards and their confidential report of their approach, method, findings, and conclusions. Briefly, their findings were based on "in depth" interviews of at least ninety minutes' duration of well-trained interviewers who went into the Negro community and interviewed Negroes at the grassroots level of the community without disclosing in even the slightest way that they were conducting an interview. The result of these "natural dialogues" was recorded on their work card, which was transcribed to an IBM card.

I think that the government could use this technique in all the large cities of America between now and the

EXHIBIT I  
LETTER TO PRESIDENT ON METHODOLOGY
first of the year to provide valid findings and conclusions of what the Negro is actually thinking in his environment and not what his so-called leader says or what the white man feels about the Negro's true concern.

I hope that you will let someone in your office study this report and see if it can be used because in my opinion it can be of great help to us in the months ahead in trying to solve the racial problem in America.

Yours very truly,

WOODROW SEALS
United States Attorney

WSigt
Enclosures
September 1, 1965

The Honorable Jack Valenti
The White House
Washington, D. C.

Dear Jack:

Judging from the luncheon last week, it looks as if Washington is agreeing with you. Even the night school lessons.

Jack, the enclosed study of race relations in Houston is interesting in itself, but may also be significant in that it may point out a method that could be used in other communities for getting a continual reading on the temperature in the Negro community. This study has been going on for about six months under the direction of Blair Justice, the Post's science writer. Blair is a psychologist by training. He is currently teaching and working on his Ph.D in psychology at Rice, in addition to his science writing duties on the Post.

He organized this study about six months ago in order to gather continuing data on the potential for violence in the Negro community. As you will see if you have time to look it over, the study shows that there does exist considerable potential for violence here in Houston. All the local authorities have been made aware of this information.

My reason for sending this on to you is the thought that the unusual interview technique, and the "listening post" part of the operation might be used elsewhere in the nation to forewarn of possible violence.

Woodruff is aware of this information and is forwarding it to the Department of Justice. He believes this method has great potential.

Sincerely,

Original Signed
W. P. Hobby, Jr.

EXHIBIT 2
LETTER TO JACK VALENTI
THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

September 4, 1965

Dear Bill:

The procedures you worked out in Houston so effectively are definitely worth taking a look at. I've passed the material along to Lee White, Special Counsel to the President.

Many thanks for your continuing thoughtfulness.

Sincerely,

Jack Valenti
Special Assistant to the President

Mr. William P. Hobby, Jr.
Executive Vice President
The Houston Post
Houston, Texas 77001
THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

September 28, 1965

Dear Mr. Hobby:

I have reviewed the material which you were kind enough to send to Jack Valenti concerning possible ways of anticipating violence in Negro communities. I understand that the Justice Department also has had available to it this same material.

We appreciate your bringing Mr. Blair Justice's work to our attention. Some of the techniques outlined, I am sure, will be of substantial value to us.

Sincerely,

Lee C. White
Special Counsel to the President

Mr. William P. Hobby, Jr.
Executive Vice President
The Houston Post
Houston, Texas

EXHIBIT 4

LETTER FROM LEE C. WHITE
A C T I O N  R E C O M M E N D A T I O N S

A. Short term (from now through September)

NOTE: Negroes in this research group are prepared to launch immediate action through their contacts in Negro neighborhoods and organizations to stimulate and educate fellow citizens on such critical items as neighborhood-improvement campaigns and proper relations with law enforcement officers -- all in coordination and cooperation with duly-constituted authorities and their constructive efforts.

1. Action involving top-level officials

   a. For the duration of the short-term period an Information Clearinghouse or Exchange should operate around the clock and through the week to receive and evaluate area-wide reports from law enforcement authorities and such sources as "listening posts," and technical advisors. A primary goal here is to "keep on top of" all indications of any build-up of racial tension. Coordination between authorities in the entire Houston area would be necessary.

   b. In case preventive action fails, an "Emergency Condition" plan, detailed and specific, should be developed in advance. Officials would make precise plans for police, fire, ambulance, hospital, and other crucial departments and services, and for decision-making sequences and communication systems. They would develop a strategy for containment, to prevent the spread of any disorder from its origin.

   c. Officials would call for, and receive, a "dry run" (more than one if the first showed inadequacies) on execution of the EC plan. Again, area-wide coordination must be practiced.

2. Action specifically involving law-enforcement officials

Main purpose: to strengthen a climate of respect by law enforcement officials for citizens, and thereby strengthen citizens' respect for the law and for law officers.

a. Officers should treat every contact with a Negro who has possibly violated the law as a potential trigger of serious disorder. No call or episode in a Negro area should be treated casually. Officers should not, however, ask a phone caller whether he is "white or colored." Officers should try to educate the public concerning full and proper reporting of incidents when citizens call in.

EXHIBIT 5

RECOMMENDATIONS TO MAYOR
b. Officers should be given immediate re-training with respect to current attitudes and opinions of Negroes. We suggest that as a part of this training, a highly qualified Negro, or Negroes, be called upon to talk with the officers and to answer their questions. Consideration also should be given to a law enforcement manual on race relations and how a "minor" arrest may set off major trouble.

c. So far as Negro officers are available, when lawmen work in pairs, one member should be Negro and the other white, the two alternating as drivers. This arrangement should not be exclusively for areas of Negro residence or only on calls involving Negroes. Also, one or two Negro officers should be used to direct rush-hour traffic in downtown Houston.

d. In situations where a rapid build-up of racial tension is occurring, the cooperation of radio (and other media) should be sought immediately to try to stop rumors and to correct misinformation that pertains to a Negro arrest or some other incident that has been interpreted in a Negro area as highly inflammatory.

e. In the case of an offense by a white man against a Negro, there should be swift and effective apprehension and prosecution. There should be no "double standard" of law. There should be "equal punishment" for "equal offenses," regardless of race.

3. Action involving other authorities

**Main purpose:** to give added evidence of official concern for, and interest in, low-income and minority-group citizens.

a. Remove litter, trash, and tall weeds from vacant lots, illegal dumps, etc., in low-income and minority neighborhoods. Strictly enforce regulations on street-sweeping, garbage and trash pick-up in such areas. Eliminate standing water pools and keep clean open ditches in the same areas.

b. Pave or black-top dirt-surfaced streets. Re-surface deteriorated (washboard) streets in residential areas.

c. Accelerate the present lighting program in high crime and low-income areas.

d. Bear down on enforcement of health ordinances affecting such facilities as restaurants and stores, especially those in areas having high concentrations of Negroes. Bear down on enforcement of ordinances that require vacant lots and other property--often owned by absentee landlords--to be kept clean and presentable.

e. Speedily attend to reports of dangerous emergency conditions such as gas leaks and clogged sewers in Negro homes and neighborhoods.
f. Develop ways to inform residents in low-income and minority neighborhoods of the services provided by the various departments of local, state, and federal government.

4. Action involving the media

a. A large-scale public campaign might be mounted, with the objective of stimulating action toward area-wide, neighborhood improvements. There should be leadership by chambers of commerce, by civic and church groups as well as by officials. Each substantial forward step should be made available for the media to report. (An area-wide improvement drive should continue into the long-term and could be started by the kind of cooperative action emphasized in the NOTE at the top of page 1.)

b. Mass media should be kept posted on reports received by the Information Clearinghouse (see A 1a) and should consider ways to help correct grievances or complaints found to be valid. The grievances are not likely to be confined to just dirty ditches and unpaved streets. They will include more profound problems that relate directly to the racial question.

B. Long term (begin systematic implementation as soon as possible, and certainly by October 1)

1. Action involving law enforcement

a. Assign officers to areas and functions primarily on the basis of individual abilities, without regard to race. This should result in some Negro officers in white districts, and in Negro officers sometimes involved in reprimanding and apprehending white citizens, in other than just flagrant cases.

b. Upgrade officers without regard to race. As Negroes prove their ability, there should be some at supervisory levels. It is recognized that many police agencies are undermanned, but qualified Negro officers can be recruited and should be promoted.

c. Officers should be trained, and re-trained periodically, with respect to the opinions and attitudes of Negroes, and Negroes (highly qualified) should be called upon to participate in this training.

2. Community intelligence work must be continuous; there must be a system for the regular and methodical taking of the 'temperature' of the community, on the side of Negroes and on the side of whites. On the part of law-enforcement officers, there must be greater evidence of coordination between governmental units.

3. The Manpower Training Program should be subjected to critical review and evaluation, leading to improvement of the quality of training offered and to the expansion of a valid program.
4. Action involving Negroes with small businesses

a. Names of Negroes in daily contact with small Negro business owners and customers of such businesses can be made available to any official who would like to visit with such people and discuss mutual problems.

b. Negroes in the research group say they receive the following reports pertaining to Negroes with small businesses or those hoping to establish them.

(1) Loans seem to be more difficult to obtain by the Negro small-business owner than by his white counterpart. There is the feeling that lenders "look more at a man's race than his assets or potential." Also, there is the report that the amount of a loan, such as for expansion, "is four or five times greater" for a white entrepreneur than it is for a Negro with just as promising a business.

(2) The point about credit being "more a matter of race than assets or potential" also extends to all kinds of credit, according to the Negroes.

(3) "There is the feeling," one said, "that we are told to do this or that to better ourselves but we are not given the opportunity -- or the means are not available -- for us to do it."

5. Officials should urge the owners of professional athletic teams in Houston to recruit players solely on the basis of ability without regard to race. This has already been started in some cases.

6. Action needed that involves Negro job problems

a. A report that comes from several sources concerns Negro truck-drivers: it is felt that Negro drivers are paid less and are worked longer. They are not of as high caliber in some instances and probably contribute to traffic hazards.

b. College-trained Negroes often find themselves with jobs that require little training. Several Negro members of the research group report such accounts as this: A Negro who had completed three years of college was sent out for a job interview at a place wanting a porter. The Negro felt he was qualified for something better; the prospective employer, in the interpretation of the Negro team members, felt that if it takes a Negro three years of college to qualify as a porter, then "it would take a Ph.D. degree" for a Negro to work at the same place as a clerk.

c. Uneducated and untrained Negroes are finding it increasingly difficult to get jobs, with automation accelerating and the emphasis being placed on educated job applicants. The untrained, uneducated Negro often becomes "a drag on the community in terms of living off of a welfare or turning to crime." Communities need programs that offer training.
d. In connection with the points made above and the whole problem of frustration and hostility among Negroes, one Negro here observed that "what happened in Watts was like a child's tantrum -- it was the only way to get attention."

e. Individual Negro members of the team can elaborate on job problems, if asked.

7. Action involving Negro workers and job applicants for governmental agencies

a. All governmental employees -- local, state and federal -- should be hired and promoted on the basis of merit. If the city, county, state or federal government insists that this policy is already being practiced, then consideration should be given to disabusing Negroes of the idea that race, as well as ability, is a definite factor in hiring and promoting -- if not explicitly, then implicitly.

b. Reports coming from one Negro team member specifically concern employees of city agencies. It is suggested these be checked.

(1) "There is the report that one woman in charge of a bookmobile for the public library simply will not bring the bookmobile to Negro areas, or discourages Negroes from using the bookmobile."

(2) There is the report that no Negro women are hired as 'meter maids' for checking parking meters.

(3) There is the report that Negroes do not man cages or counters where the public pays utility bills. Negro team members say that having qualified Negroes at such counters would help inspire confidence in city government, "just as would assigning a qualified Negro policeman to direct downtown traffic."

8. The pride of the individual in his home and neighborhood should be reinforced by providing all the services found in white neighborhoods and seeing to it that such services are provided with the same frequency.

9. An investigation of leadership and leadership potentialities in the Negro community should be made to discover the "natural" leaders and not the titular leaders.

10. A wide-spread housing program should be considered as a spur to mobility from low-income neighborhoods and to aid escape from "ghetto" areas.
11. Other cities should be contacted for information concerning their plans and practices relating to low-income and minority areas and people. Los Angeles officials, including the police chief, should be consulted in terms of what was learned "the hard way"—after 33 persons were killed, 874 injured (including 87 policemen and 87 firemen) and $200 million in property was damaged or destroyed (not counting that lost from widespread looting).

12. Consideration should be given to "riot remedies" recommended by President Lyndon Johnson on Thursday, August 26, 1965. He urged Congressmen to "act before it is too late" in removing causes of racial disorder and violence. Action on more than the federal level seems indicated.

CLOSING NOTE: Every reader of these recommendations is respectfully reminded that no one is asking that special privileges be given any person on the basis of his color, white or Negro. One primary request is that authorities on all levels of government -- city, county, state and federal -- coordinate efforts toward reducing racial tension, in cooperation with all citizens, who share equal responsibility.
EXHIBIT 1
WHERE VIOLENCE OCCURRED IN SOUTH LOS ANGELES
HOUSTON
BY CENSUS TRACTS

EXHIBIT 2
NEGRO AREAS IN HOUSTON
THE NEW KLAN

Houston, Texas - 1965

(Abstract of Full Report)

Houston is headquarters for a recently revived and presently growing Texas Klan organization. Several furtive attempts to rekindle Klanish fires have been made in Texas since the historic Supreme Court decision of 1954. The resurgence of the Klan comes to Texas later than in the states of the Deep South - five years later. It also took the five years from 1915 to 1920 for William Simmons to establish a toe-hold in the State of Texas, and its headquarters then was also Houston. The 1920 Texas Klan, once sparked, mushroomed almost overnight into the largest, and by far the most notorious, of Klan organizations in the other Southern states. There appears scant hope, at this time, that we are not witnessing a revised edition of this twice-told tale.

Perhaps "witnessing" is not the proper word to use here. Recent public "visits" in "Old Klan" regalia to neighboring communities bear little relationship to the true desires, plans, and expectations of the blue-shirted, karate-trained youths of the new and highly secret Klan. Under banners of fraternization and patriotism which are meant to lull the public, these "shows" serve primarily to make a potential Klan member aware that the organization does indeed exist. This dual role is probably made necessary by the failure of a highly secret Klan to reach numerous prospective adherents. The ploy is working.

The new Klansmen are young, strong, highly trained individuals who know how to take orders. The majority of them are disciplined, expertly trained in Judo or Karate and in the use of a variety of small arms by reason of their service in the armed forces. Ex-Marines are seemingly favorite recruits. The full uniform of levis, blue shirt and black tie is not always worn, but on an assignment, all Klansmen are to exhibit some piece of clothing in common so they may be easily identified. Their new challenge is "keep" and the password or response is "fight." They may at times be armed, but they need not be, for they can kill a man in seconds with their bare hands, a stick, or a piece of wire.

Insofar as can be determined, there are few Klansmen in Texas in early 1965, although both Shelton's United Klans and Venable's

EXHIBIT 3
ABSTRACT OF KU KLUX KLAN REPORT
National Knights were represented in Houston. By mid-year there were at least four Klaverns in Houston, and three to four in other communities of Southeast Texas. A Klavern must have a minimum of 25 members, and may have any number above that.

At the present time William Drennan, Acting Grand Dragon of Texas (United Klans), claims to have ten Klaverns in Harris County and twenty-two Klaverns over the eastern half of the State, drawing members from 40 Texas counties.

Drennan also said: "If our membership comes in as rapidly in the next eleven months as it has in the past three, by comparison, we're going to have a half-million members."

Drennan feels that the recent occurrences in Los Angeles' Watts district and a "show of strength" here will accelerate "the flood of new applicants" for Klan membership still further. He also stated that a "show of strength will serve to let them niggers know that the Klan is still around and still working. Then they'll think twice before startin' any trouble in Houston."

Drennan has since announced that this "show of strength" will occur in "the Houston vicinity - on September 18, 1965" and will involve between 25,000 and 65,000 - "maybe 100,000" - Klan members and supporters. The Klan wishes the public to attend, and if "we don't get any publicity for it from these damn newspapers, we'll just have to use handbills."

"Robert M. Shelton, Imperial Wizard, will be the principal speaker."

ADDENDUM

Much of the information in this abstract -- as well as the full report, which is many pages long and has multiple references as documentation -- comes out of a liaison maintained by a team member with William Drennan, who was Acting Grand Dragon of Texas (United Klans) as of Aug. 30, 1965. This is mentioned in order to emphasize that what is being presented by way of current activities of the Texas Klan is an overview obtained directly from "the man running the show."
The report on the current activities, then, is not a composite made up of many small pieces obtained on the klavern level and put together as "the big picture." It should be noted, however, that the abstract contains conclusions as well as observations. Given the facts contained in the full report, some other person might draw different conclusions.
KU KLUX KLAN RALLY
COME! — SEE! — HEAR!
Robert M. Shelton
IMPERIAL WIZARD
HEAD of the UNITED KLANS of AMERICA
FROM TUSCALOOSA, ALABAMA
SEE ACTUAL PHOTOS TAKEN IN SELMA, ALA.
HEAR THE TRUTH ABOUT THE
COMMUNIST INSPIRED
CIVIL RIGHTS MOVEMENT

CROCKETT, TEXAS — FRIDAY, SEPTEMBER 17 — 7:30 P.M.
EAST HIGHWAY 21 and EAST LOOP

HOUSTON, TEXAS
Sat., Sept. 18 - 7:30 PM
3 BLOCKS SOUTH OF BEAUMONT HIGHWAY
ON SHELDON ROAD

BEAUMONT, TEXAS — SUNDAY, SEPTEMBER 19 — 4:00 P.M.
LAWRENCE DRIVE and 11th STREET

White Public
& Law Enforcement
Officers Invited

EXHIBIT 4
KKK HANDBILL ON HOUSTON RALLY
Although the City of Houston has not achieved full emancipation of its Negro minority, and although there are yet many areas where the plight of the Negro stands in need of improvement, we never the less feel that the City of Houston has made progress in the field of race relations—probably outstripping all other Southern cities in the important National problem. And so it is with great alarm, the Metropolitan Council of the NAACP for the city of Houston, has received news that the Houston Chapter of the Citizens Council of America has seen fit to bring into our otherwise tranquil city, one of the supreme racists of this day and age, Sheriff Jim Clark of Selma Alabama.

Jim Clark stands for blatant disregard for the constitutional rights of a down trodden minority, he represents that small core of racial bigots who would impede the flow of full democracy to all Americans. Jim Clark represents those, who because of the smallness of their horizons, would make a mockery of the Great American Dream. It is his ilk who hold American Democracy up to scorn in the eyes and estimation of people in foreign lands.

We therefore call upon all Houstonians to demonstrate by their conspicuous absence from this rally, that Houston stands for progress, not retrogression, that Houston is proud of its record of racial harmony, that Houston resents the presence of this one, who comes into our city bringing, not peace and harmony, but instead discord and ill-will.

We express hurt and alarm that the KKK has, in the near future, scheduled a rally and ceremony within the city limits of Houston. We are proud that Houston has been spared the ravages of racial riots, such as we have witnessed recently in some of our major cities. The presence of such subversive groups as the KKK can only serve to foment racial unrest and discord. We would hope that the responsible leadership of our city and county will take forthright steps to denounce these related events which are designed to create disharmony disrupt lines of communication, and destroy goodwill now existing between our diverse racial groups.

We therefore call upon the Mayor, City Council, County Judge, and County Commissioners Court to issue a public statement condemning the staging of the aforementioned rallies and/or meetings, which can serve on useful purpose, as the City of Houston seeks to resolve its racial problems.
(Photos by Dell Van Dusen)

APPENDIX B
Exhibit 7a

KU KLUX KLAN RALLY, SEPTEMBER 1965
APPENDIX B

Exhibit 7b

IMPERIAL WIZARD SHELTON AND TEXAS HAT
APPENDIX B

Exhibit 7e

SHE HELPS MAKE KKK UNIFORMS
ATTENTION NEGRO CITIZENS OF THE THIRD WARD-ROSEDALE AREA!
STAY OUT OF MIXON'S GROCERY STORE, Rosedale, from now on! WHY? BECAUSE
A YOUNG NEGRO MAN WAS SHOT (maybe killed) THERE, THURSDAY, FEBRUARY 24, around
2:00 PM, FOR ALLEGEDLY HAVING TAKEN A "LOAF OF BREAD" FROM THAT STORE. MIND
YOU, WE DO NOT CONDONE STEALING IN ANYBODY OR FROM ANYBODY, BUT, IS A LOAF OF
BREAD WORTH A HUMAN LIFE? WE THINK NOT! NOW, WHY SPEND YOUR MONEY WHERE YOU
ARE LIKELY TO BE SHOT DOWN FOR THE SLIGHTEST ACCUSATION? YOU CAN DRIVE SUCH
ESTABLISHMENTS OUT OF BUSINESS, SIMPLY BY REFUSING TO BUY THEIR MERCHANDISE!
IT IS ABOUT TIME THAT NEGRO CITIZENS BEGAN STANDING ON THEIR FEET AND PRO-
TESTING SUCH BRUTAL AND INHUMANE TREATMENT BY WITHHOLDING THEIR MONEY AND
FINANCIAL SUPPORT FROM ALL SUCH PEOPLE AND PLACES!
SPEND YOUR MONEY WHERE YOUR TRADE WILL BE APPRECIATED! STAY OUT OF MIXON'S
Rosedale, from now on! DON'T PAY FOR BARBARIC TREATMENT!

EXHIBIT 8
NEIGHBORHOOD PROTEST OF SHOOTING OF NEGRO
Coon-ard Lines

Boat Ticket to Africa

This ticket entitles One Nigger to:

1. Free trip to Africa on a Luxury Liner with plenty of pumps. Boat is shaped like Cadillac with fins.
2. All the bananas and choice cuts of missionary desired, NAACP members may sit up front.
4. Framed picture of Eleanor Roosevelt and Harry Golden. Twist to Martin Luther Koon's Jazz band.
5. Chicken-coop and watermelon patch on deck. Left unguarded at night. Plus Fish 'n Chips for breakfast!
6. Plenty of wine, marijuana, heroin and other refreshments.

©1944 by LINCOLN ROCKWELL

EXHIBIT 9

"COON' TICKET TO AFRICA
SPECIAL! For liberal, white "peace-creeps" race-mixers and nigger lovers...

To all those who would like to join the Coon-Ard Lines Cruise, but can't do it...and must endure life in a white town without any nigger friends...

A YEAR'S SUPPLY OF INSTANT NIGGER!

easy mixing powder! Just sprinkle this dingy black dust on any sidewalk! Make water on it! PRESTO! Hundreds of NIGGERS spring up! Little niggers, big niggers! Fat niggers, skinny niggers! Light niggers, midnight-black niggers! Communist niggers! Jew niggers!

DON'T HESITATE...INTEGRATE!

Why wait? With "INSTANT NIGGER", any nigger-loving, brainless, peace-creep can have ALL THE NIGGERS he can stand!

EXTRA ATTRACTION!

As an added attraction...SUPER SPECIAL African Witch Doctor's LOVE SECRET! Smell like a nigger yourself, win the love of a beautiful, llazul-lipped NIGGERETTE! With kisses that last a week! We lost a couple of customers altogether after they used "WITCH DOCTOR'S LOVE SECRET"! (Contains pure concentrated African extract of Niggeramar attacks.) a rare perfume which overwhelms the senses and carries you away completely! A little goes a long way...

Mail this coupon to order additional boat ticket.:

INSTANT NIGGER

ROCKWELL for GOVERNOR
22 N. 7th Street, Richmond, Virginia

Gentlemen:
Please send me "BACK TO AFRICA"
Boat Tickets. (Orders of less than 50 tickets NOT accepted).

NAME
ADDRESS
CITY STATE

50 Tickets: $1 Additional tickets: 1¢ ea.
The Saddest Story Ever Told

BY HON. OLIVER ALLSTORM

When a white girl marries a negro, her sun of life goes down,
And glaring spots of sin appear on her white wedding gown.
And white and black men stand aghast, while viewing this strange role;
And mutter, "they will wreck themselves, and damn each other's soul."

We know a carnivorous bug has crept into her brain
And gnawed away her self respect, which has left her half insane.
Now all her racial pride has flown beyond redemption's fold
And she begins life's saddest tale that ever yet was told.

Three days and nights she felt black lips press snug against her own,
And on the fourth, her troubled soul lets out a frightful groan,
And so the weeks and months flew by, and then baby came;
She looked at it with tear filled eyes, and hung her head with shame.

And then she dreamed of other days, sweet girlhood days gone by,
And of white friends left behind, and so we hear her cry;
"O, could I turn life's pendulum backwards a few short years
I would not bear this cross today, nor shed these bitter tears."

"My baby would be white as snow, and sleeps upon my breast
Like a little fledgling robin that slumbers in its nest.
While now, O God my mongrel child just whispers through the night,
Till in my sleepless dreams I scream, "Not white, O God, not white!"

And so I stagger through my days far from God's love and grace,
Till now, I know, no black man lives, can take a white man's place.
My offsprings shall be mongrel bred, their hue-skin shall remain,
For even God with all His power, cannot remove the stain.

I sold my birthright for a mess, I mixed my white born blood
With black blood, so I languish here like one bogged down in mud.
Though God may grant a pardon I never can retrace
My footsteps down life's narrow road, back to the white man's race.

So now I groan, "It might have been," had racial pride been mine,
Today I dug a pure white child and call him half divine,
I'd lift him up before the world, and praise his father's name.
While now, my baby's mongrel face reminds me of my shame.

All other crimes may be forgiven when prayer its power fulfills
The scheming crook may find new hope, and even the man that kills
But all my prayers can never clear my baby's mongrel skin,
Nor make him white as driven snow, nor cleanse my soul of sin.

I was my father's future hope, my mother's joy and pride,
But I got lost on life's dark road, and their spirit died.
I smeared my all white heritage and left the white man's track,
Now my descendants for all time shall be forever black.

I try to hide from all the stars, the moon, the setting sun
For all mankind of my white race, condemn what I have done;
I tremble and my tear drops flow, I pray but pray in vain;
For evermore shall I be one with my white race again.

And so dark clouds above me roll, deep waters crash below,
I sink, and reap what I have sown, and drink my cup of woe.
My mother sleeps deep in her grave, her dead lies at her side,
For both were crushed when I became a negro's common bride.

Now, should I decide to leave him, where could I choose to go?
My mispent life will follow me like footprints in the snow,
Before me lie dark jungles where paramours seek to pray;
Behind me death keeps whispering, "I am the only way."

This black and white, prometual mess, this racial suicide;
Must be forbidden by the law, men must find racial pride.
Then, never again, forever, shall tales like mine unfold,
With all its shame, the saddest tale, that ever yet was told.

EXHIBIT 10

KKK RHYME ON "MONGRELIZATION"
WE, THE KLAN, BELIEVE:

"We believe in God and the tenets of the Christian religion, and that a God-less nation cannot long prosper."

The Christian religion is founded on the teachings of Jesus Christ. An infidel or a person who rejects Jesus Christ and His teachings, cannot be a true Klansman. And the nation that rejects God and His Word is sure to reap calamity of some kind.

"We believe that a Church that is not grounded on the principles of morality and justice is a mockery to God and to man."

There are churches, so-called, that do not require high standard of morality and justice from their membership. Men who accept the teachings of such churches cannot be Klansmen, in the true sense of the word. The genuine Christian is both moral and just.

"We believe that a Church that does not have the welfare of the common people at heart is unworthy."

Any Church that is founded on the principles set forth in the teachings of Jesus Christ has the welfare of all people at heart. There is no class distinction, no subjection of the masses by a favored few, as has been the case for centuries in Mexico and other Romanized countries.

"We believe in the eternal separation of Church and State."

Roman Catholicism teaches the union of Church and State, with the Church controlling the State. The Constitution of the United States declares that Church and State shall forever be separate. The Church has its function, which is Spiritual, and the State its function, which is temporal. Each has its place, and while they should work in harmony, they should be separate.

"We hold no allegiance to any foreign government, emperor, king, pope, or any other foreign political or religious power."

Every Roman Catholic holds allegiance to the Pope of Rome, and Catholicism teaches that this allegiance is superior to his allegiance to his country.

"We believe in just laws and liberty."

By just laws is meant laws that apply equally to all, rich and poor, educated and uneducated, men and women.

Liberty does not mean license as many seem to think. It does not mean to do as one pleases regardless of others; it means that in the exercise of our privileges the welfare of others and of society at large must be considered.

"We hold allegiance to the Stars and Stripes next to our allegiance to God."

God should be honored and obeyed above all. But next to Him, we should hold allegiance to the Stars and Stripes, the emblem of our liberties.

"We believe in the upholding of the constitution of these United States."

By upholding the Constitution is meant the whole Constitution. One who violates one clause of the Constitution would just as quickly break every other one if it served his purpose to do so.

"We believe that our free public school is the corner-stone of good government, and that those who are seeking to destroy it are enemies of our Republic and are unworthy of citizenship."

Ignorance, superstition, immorality and crime go together. Destroy our public schools and the rule of our country will be placed in the hands of the few, as is the case where there are no public schools. There are enemies within our gates who are trying to break down our system which would put more stress on church dogma than general education. The result would be the ignorant masses controlled by the educated few.

"We believe in freedom of speech."

By this is meant the right of any citizen to express an opinion on any subject, either publicly or privately, so long as no other person's private character is assailed. Until the arising of the Knights of the Ku Klux Klan, this right was denied American citizens in many cities and towns.

"We believe in a free press, uncontrolled by political parties or religious sects."

The press should be free to spread news without coloring it to suit any person or sect; but such is not the case. Scarcely a newspaper anywhere dares to publish the truth the whole truth and nothing but the truth. The press is largely controlled by the Roman Catholic priesthood and Judaism. As a result the people are fed on propaganda instead of truth. When an article is read in either a newspaper or magazine, one does not know but what there is a sinister motive back of it. And a paper that publishes the truth can hardly exist.

"We believe in law and order."

In other words, the Klan believes in keeping the
laws and in enforcing the laws. Many accusations have been brought against the Klan as law-breakers. These accusations against the order are newspaper propaganda. So far, we have not heard a single instance where the Klan, by an official act, has violated any law.

"We believe in white supremacy."

The Klan believes that America is a white man's country and should be governed by white men. Yet, the Klan is not anti-Negro; it is the negro's friend. The Klan is eternally opposed to the mixing of the white and colored races. Their creed: Let the white man remain white, the black man black, the yellow man yellow, the brown man brown and the red man red. God drew the color line and man should so let it remain. (Acts 17:26)

"We believe in the protection of our pure womanhood. The Home, Church, Public School System, Our Constitution and our American Way of Life."

This is a stand for the purity of the home, for morality, for the protection of our mothers, our sisters, our wives, our daughters, against the white-slaver, the home-wrecker, the libertine. To live up to this principle a Klansman must keep himself pure; he must treat other women as he would have those of his own household treated.

"We do not believe in mob violence, but we do believe that laws should be enacted to prevent the cause of mob violence."

Deaths by mob violence have fallen off very materially since the advent of the Klan. The Klan believes in law-enforcement and if a person has committed a crime the law should take its course.

"We believe in a closer relationship of capital and labor."

That the leadership of the American Labor Movement be white American Born with knowledge of American customs and principles.

Instead of being antagonistic one toward the other, capital and labor should work in harmony. This would be the case if men observed the teachings of Christ in His Word, and if they would observe the teachings embodied in the Klan motto: "Non Sinit sed anhath"—Not for self but for others.

"We believe in the limitation of foreign immigration."

No nation can absorb an unlimited number of foreigners and retain its national integrity and traditions. Immigration should be controlled by the nation which the immigrants are entering. The nation should be judge as to whom it will receive. The traditions of America have well-nigh been buried under the avalanche of foreign ideas and ideals. But for the arising of the Ku Klux Klan, they would now have been but a memory in some parts of our country.

We are native born American citizens and we believe our rights in this country are superior to those of foreigners.

The Klan believes in England for Englishmen, France for Frenchmen, Italy for Italians, and America for Americans. Is there anything objectionable in this, The Klan is not anti-Catholic, anti-Jew, anti-Negro, anti-foreign; it is pro-Protestant and pro-American.

The Klan does not oppose the foreigner who comes to our shores and become an American citizen and an American at heart, but it does oppose those who come here to drag America down to the level of the priest-ridden countries of Southern Europe, while hoarding up good American dollars and living under the protection of American laws.

We believe that the Supreme Court was in error when it attempted to legislate an act which would in effect, if adhered to, nullify the sovereignty of all states and it is our purpose to seek by legal means the reversal of the United States Supreme Court. We believe that the N.A.A.C.P. is a subversive organization and is infiltrated with Communist ideologies and should be abolished by legal process. All true Klansmen and Klanswomen stand together on these American principles and will stake their lives on the perpetuation and protection of same.

We, the Klan, will never allow our blood bought liberties to be crucified on a Roman Cross; nor will we yield to the integration of white and Negro races in schools or anywhere else. We will follow the teaching of the Bible and not the unwise and one-sided ruling of the U. S. Supreme Court which is not in keeping with the Constitution of the United States of America.

For further information address:

P. O. BOX 32:
GRANITE QUARRY, N. C.
The American mind is weakening. It is not as sound as 20 years ago. Selfishness, greed and easy living are doing the job!

We look frantically around for Russian spies, believing that Russia will attack us with armies. To us everything is material. In the meantime Russia is laughing. She has a more deadly weapon than the atomic bomb. She knows our strength is in our white stock and that when she has mixed our blood with Negro that we are licked forever.

While Russia makes laws to protect her own race she continues to prod us to accept 14,000,000 Negroes as social equals and we are doing everything possible to please her.

Radio announcers beg us to do this for strength and unity. . . . Is India strong and united? She once had a white race. Every American who by word or deed helps Russia further this plan of race destruction is a traitor to kind and country.

Negro blood destroyed the civilization of Egypt, India, Phoenicia, Carthage, Greece and Rome. The Russians, regard every Negro in our midst as a weapon more deadly than the atomic bomb.
APPENDIX C
This is Wednesday, August 25, 1965, and is an interview with Mrs. Lillian Bastine, who has participated in our citizens group activity and was in Los Angeles at the time of the race riot which originated in Watts. So, this will be a recording of the observations that she made at that time and the questions that she asked a number of people which are parallel, in many instances, to the questions that she asked negroes during her participation in the group activity in Houston.

My name is Blair Justice and I will be asking Mrs. Bastine questions and then she will elaborate, as much as she wants, on each of these questions and add any that are not asked. The questions that I will be asking are those that are in the same categories as the ones that are listed on the recording form that we have used for five months in trying to sample tension and potential violence in particularly the lower social economic stratum of the negro community in Houston, Texas. Now, this interview is being done at 2212 Prospect and I will ask in the course of it when Mrs. Bastine was in Los Angeles and when she returned here. She did go out yesterday and do some additional work on our activity in Houston and asked people at that time what their reactions are to the Los Angeles situation. So, she is in a very good position to compare feelings here, as well as in Los Angeles.

Mrs. Bastine, why don't I start with this question which, as you
know from your familiarity with the card, is a pretty central one and that is number 16 which relates to attitude toward violence and ask you, first, what you found in this category in Los Angeles. But, before getting into that maybe I should first ask you some very cut and dried questions like when did you first arrive in Los Angeles?

Mr. Justice, I arrived in Los Angeles on the 14th of August and, of course, I was there until the 22nd of August and, according to the question which you have just asked about attitude toward violence, I would like to say that these persons with whom I talked, and I talked to at least 20 or 30 persons per day, had been riot inspired. I don't think that they actually realized what they were doing, but I might say that there were persons going around in the neighborhoods asking persons to help them in their inciting of riots, because of the fact that they felt that they had been mistreated by the police there in the particular area of Watts. Now, I might also say, in contrast to having talked with persons here in Houston, that it varied quite a bit in that, perhaps, because of the fact that they had not been riot inspired; that they did not believe in violence at all. Now, perhaps, you have another question.

When you say they did not believe in violence at all you are referring to whom?

The negroes with whom I had talked during interviews here in Houston.
When you said 20 to 25 persons a day could you tell us how many days you might have asked certain people in Los Angeles?

It was one week.

For one week?

Yes.

And your reason for being in Los Angeles was what?

I was there for a national convention of Delta Sigma Theta Sorority.

And that is what? Social?

It is not a social organization. It is a Greek letter organization.

And you are a teacher?

I am a teacher.

And could you give me first just a general over view of when you first saw the area where rioting did occur and what your first impressions were?

Well, my first impression was, actually, that this is terrible. How in the world could anything like this happen in the United States or, for that matter, any place in the world; that people should go around really hurting themselves and not realizing that they were doing so in the process, but because of the fact that they had been inspired by a minority group who believed in violence.

And this minority group, would it be people who belong to any
particular organization, or just a cross section of those who lived in that area?

Well, actually, it was a cross section, but I think these persons were inspired by the Muslims. And my reason for saying that is because I had an occasion to talk with one who had lived all of his life in the area of Watts. And I told him, "Well, my goodness, you should be ashamed of yourself", because I thought he was a child and I discovered that he had three children. But he says, "Miss, I have been living out here all of my life and I did participate in the activities last night and I want you to know that I am not ashamed one bit, because you don't live here and you don't know how the police have treated us in the number of years that I have been in the Watts area". And, of course, as I stipulated that was all his life and, of course, he must have been around 22, but looked younger.

Now, in terms of whether or not people in that area had certain characteristics in common with people in the Houston area whom you have interviewed, what can you say about any possible common characteristics or complaints?

I would say that they were quite common to our area of Houston and it was quite surprising to know that most of the people with whom I talked were from the states of Louisiana and Texas. This was quite shocking and, of course, they had gone out to California feeling that this was the promised land and that it was the land of opportunity for them.
But back to your original question, I do feel that these were the same kind of people and I might say the same kind of people who could be inspired by the inciting of riots by persons.

Do you believe that the living conditions that they found in Los Angeles were worse than those that you have, perhaps, observed personally, or at least got descriptions of in terms of your work in the Houston group?

Well, now, as far as the Houston group is concerned, and as far as areas are concerned in Houston, I have seen much worse areas in Houston than I saw in Los Angeles, or know about existing.

Now, where would this be in Houston?

Well, many of these areas are --- I think it is Census Tract 9 --- is that Kelley Courts? And, of course, in some areas of Census Tract 18 --- Census Tract 1. These are the worst areas, I think, that I have had an opportunity to go into, but I know that there are others. I could not give them to you by name or Census Tract.

How about by Ward?

By Ward, I would say Fifth Ward, Fourth Ward and many sections of Third Ward. And I am sure I mentioned two areas in Tract 9 and Tract 18. That would give two areas in Fifth ward.

And when you are saying worst are you speaking solely of housing conditions?
I am speaking solely of housing conditions. I think they are more deplorable here than they are there in Los Angeles.

Are you speaking in terms of Houston in the particular areas having more people per household?

I would say yes. In many instances I would say yes, and I would like to make a particular reference here of Tract 18 where I visited when I was in Houston where there must have been about 15 people living in one house. And on the morning that I had a chance to talk with these persons they were sitting out on the front porch drinking beer and, of course, there were the small children and, of course, everybody was participating. Now, this might possibly be irrelevant as far as your question is concerned, but to me these were deplorable conditions and might possibly bring on any kind of basis for riot or violence.

When you, a few minutes ago, said you visited this particular house you meant by that you are a Houstonian who was simply going into these areas for some activity of your own? Is that correct?

Yes, this is true. I was going in for interview purposes for a project that we were working on at Texas Southern University in a class that I had this summer.

But you are a person who lives and have lived in Houston?

Yes.

For how long?

I was born in Houston and I have been here for 40 years.
So that you do have some rather wide familiarity with the negro community in Houston?

Yes, I do.

And, in terms of Los Angeles, did you make any sort of observations as to whether or not the people in the area where riots occurred had more or less at stake in terms of owning their own homes, running their own business, as compared with Houston?

Well, I would say that I found many instances in California of places being owned by whites and run by negroes and, of course, this was a resentment that many of the people in the Watts area who participated in the riot had. Now, I would like to point out that many of the business places had on their windows "Owned by Negroes, Negro Owned, Soul Brother, Blood Brother". And they felt that this would keep their places from being burned, but when you would go back the next day you would see that they did not adhere. So, I started asking questions "Well, why?" I saw a sign here yesterday that said this place was owned by negroes". They said "Yeah, it's fronted by negroes, but actually owned by whites". Now, back to your question about housing and the negroes who own homes. I do feel that there are more of them in Houston who own their homes and their businesses than there are in Los Angeles proper.

Would you say that on the average this may be true but are there areas in Houston where rioting could possibly occur where people do not own their homes and do not own their businesses?
I would say very definitely yes. Particularly in the areas that I have mentioned. And, of course, I mentioned particularly Census Tract 9 and 18, but I could not dare leave out Census Tract 1, because I think the highest crime rate appears in Census Tract 1.

Now, in terms of the question of Ghetto and, perhaps, the opinion in Houston that there is less reason to say that there are any negro Ghetto in Houston than in Los Angeles, let me ask this question. If one examined the percent of negroes living in certain Census Tracts in Watts, or any where along Central Boulevard or Alameda, or any of those others that got involved in the Los Angeles riot, could one say that there is a higher per cent of negroes in the Los Angeles Tracts than in Tracts that you could point to in Houston?

Now, I would say, offhand, that there would be more in the Census Tracts in Houston, or areas of devastation or areas where there might be an incitement of riot, because I don't feel that it would take very much to get these people sparked to the extend that they would riot. I think just ... Are there negro Ghettos in Houston?

Yes.

And would one find, if he made a systematic survey, that in these areas the percent of negroes to whites is higher than in those areas in Los Angeles where rioting occurred?

I would say yes.
This is, I think, borne out by the Census data, certainly of 1960. But to move on, what could you say, going back to your finding that so many of these negroes seemed to be from Texas and Louisiana, about the question of whether or not you feel that the attitude that the people out there had toward religion, or toward their minister, was in any way different from the attitude that negroes in, say Census Tract 9, 18, 1, 37, 38, 53B, 60, or whichever you might want to pick in Houston. Is there a difference in terms of attitude toward religion or their ministers?

Well, in Houston I would say that many of the people of these areas couldn't care less about the minister, because many of them don't get a chance to actually go to church, because of the fact that they do not have sufficient clothing. But, I might add that where California was concerned - where Los Angeles was concerned - that I went to the Holman Church --- Holman Methodist Church and, of course, I thought the minister had delivered an excellent sermon and the music was very beautiful and the people seemed to be unmoved. And, of course, after church I asked a question "How in the world can you people sit here in church and be unperturbed about what your minister is saying"? So many of them, in fact all of them, that I talked to said they didn't care about what the minister said because they just didn't feel moved at all because they were still upset over what had happened out in Watts and he just was not able to reach them. So, I think the attitude, as far as the minister was concerned, was very poor. Next door there was a Baptist church and, of course, the attitude of the people in the Baptist church
was about the same as far as their minister was concerned, but they seemed to look up to the minister, more so than the people from over at the Methodist Church; however, most of them said that they were in favor of what had gone on in Watts because of brutality and all, but they did say that they thought that the negro should learn to face up to his own problems and stop throwing the problems out and seeking help from others.

I believe that, as of yesterday, you agreed to go back and do some additional interviewing for us in terms of the tension and potential violence among certain negroes in Houston. Is it correct for me to say that among the three people that you carried on what we call a natural dialogue with, meaning that the person isn't aware that his answers are being recorded in a systematic and we hope scientific manner, would you say it is accurate that you found two people who said that they, in effect, could see that there was some justification for the Los Angeles riot, given the conditions that are out there, and one person who simply was indifferent?

This is true. This is true. They really weren't, one of them, in accord with what had gone on in Los Angeles; that is in lieu of the reasons that were stipulated in the newspapers as to why and, of course, this all leads back to police brutality. And, of course, you didn't ask me, but I would like to also mention employment of the males in the Watts area. That many of them do not have permanent employment; that they just job around and it seems as though the women have to carry the load of the family and,
of course, they work for jewelry shops, advertisement companies, interior decorators, etc. But they admitted themselves that this was a bad, bad situation as far as anyone trying to get up in the world; that they would never be able to own their homes and, of course, would always be a disadvantage to people. Many of them felt that they were so sorry that they had sold out and had gone to Los Angeles looking for a better way of life and wished that they actually were able to turn around and go back but, because of pride or other reasons or because of the fact that they had spent up their life's fortune, they could not turn around and go back and decided to accept the conditions, or the condition, into which they were thrown.

If we assume that some originated in the Fifth Ward of Houston, or the Third Ward of Houston, or some other areas where there are many negroes, what would your answer be to this question. That if they did come back would they find better lives and better conditions here?

Well, in many instances, I figure they would find better conditions, but being the people whom they are I do feel that they would have to go into the Ghettos and, of course, this would offer no opportunities for them.

What you are saying then is, that in answering all these questions, we have to keep in mind that the negro community is stratified and that, just as in the white community, you have people on the lower social economic level, you have people that you can call middle class and people who are even above that in terms of economics? Is that right?

Yes.
And what you saw in terms of Los Angeles were people who probably were down on the lower social economic level?

Well, I might say this. That I was exposed from those on the lower social economic level to the highest that could be offered for negroes. And, of course, I might say that those of them whom I might consider as upper middle class would have absolutely and positively nothing to do with those persons who are of the lower, lower groups and, that is, in the way of offering any help and assistance to them, because I discovered that many of them were living above their means and had to 'moonlight' in order to be able to keep the living standards that they have.

Now, would you say the same sort of thing goes on in Houston?

Yes, I would. I very definitely would, because I have found that it is very hard to be able to carry on any decent standard, have any decent standard of living without doing something extra. And, of course, I know in my own family my husband has to 'moonlight' in order for us to be able to actually make it and live decently.

Would you also say that the situation is comparable in terms of those on certain higher levels economically not having anything to do, and not wanting to have anything to do, with those on lower social economic levels in Houston?

Well, I would say yes. I find the same thing so, particularly
about business establishments; that it really ... I find it is the person who is of the lower social economic level who actually is able to keep the business places going, because the persons who are hired are going one time to see what is going on and they are never able to actually help a person stay in business. I know this sounds strange but I have found it to be true. Maybe in places where they have sawdust on the floors you will find many persons who are low on the social economic level. They are not able to keep roofs over their heads, but they do keep the business person in business. And, of course, I have discovered also that many of the better businesses that are owned by negroes, in many instances, have to close their doors because some negroes when they see table cloths on tables and, of course, a place that looks real nice, they feel a reluctance to go in and, of course, they don't. So, this is why, I imagine, we have many newer businesses popping up and, of course, others declining.

Would you say about this? Los Angeles and all of California, I believe it is safe to say, has had on the record, at least, good race relations; at least in terms of not having any semblance of rioting, even to the extent that has occurred in the East. How is it that everyone, if we assume that it was that widely a concensus, could believe that everything is fine in terms of race relations in Los Angeles and then suddenly one day something sparks off a riot that kills up to 36 or 39 people?

Well, if I am understanding you correctly and in talking about the entire area of California as such, with its 158,693 square miles and
as of 1960 a population of 5,717,204, that, in talking with these people, they, themselves, said that they did not believe that this could have happened in the state of California... it was the last place that it could happen. And, of course, I heard a telecast where the Mayor said that he had been warned but he, himself, did not believe that this thing could have happened in California. I hope that answers your question.

Well, how do you explain to yourself, say, that given this sort of attitude prior to the riot, how could people be so out of touch, in a sense, that suddenly one day you have the most explosive riot this country has ever seen?

Well, I think we could go there back to the origin of the riot; that just one drunk person who laid his arrest to police brutality... now, if one thing like this could incite a riot then I feel that something far less... that all we have to do is to have something to happen... just some small something... and, of course, misinterpretations can be carried on to the extent that other people will be incited to riot by not really actually knowing why. I think they are joiners.

Well, as you know in our data, at least in the analysis of it, we are finding that it is quite a different thing, an event may actually by nature be minor, but by the time it gets interpreted by people in that community it may be greatly exaggerated. Is this correct?

This is true. This is true and I very definitely found this to be true in Los Angeles; however, I might say that it is my feeling that things
just got out of hand because there were many innocent people who were killed by the National Guard coming in and, of course, out of fear they just started running or failed to stop. And, of course, this gave the National Guard reasons to believe that they were running for a reason. So, you can see that there would be unrest, not only among a people, but by those people who are a part of the National Guard or the Los Angeles City Police.

In terms of your participation in the activity here where we got into attitudes toward authority, including police authority, what difference, if any, did you find between negroes in Houston with whom you carried on a natural dialogue - and these negroes were lower socio-economic ones - and those in Los Angeles that are comparable in terms of lower socio-economic standards?

I would say that they were exactly and precisely the same.

Namely what? In the terms of attitude toward police and attitude toward authority?

Well, actually, many of the persons with whom I have talked, as far as attitude toward authority, respect authority. Those persons in Los Angeles admitted that they respected authority, but they felt as though they had a reason and that there was something that they had to do. And this is the reason they would go out and solicit and say, "Brother, are you going to help us with our cause"? And, of course, I might say that it stems all the way back to the authority or to police brutality as such, or as we know it.
Is there police brutality in Houston in terms of your own observations and participation in the activity here?

Well, as far as I know, I have had no real brush, but as far as the people, of whom I have read, they have not been in accord with the way they have been treated and, of course, maybe there are bias reasons, I don't know, for their feeling that the police are picking on them because of the fact that they are negroes. I might say here that, as far as Los Angeles is concerned, that I had a very, very bitter experience; that I was going through one of the areas one night that was near one of the Muslim Mosques and, of course, we were to have stopped on 18th Street and passed it where we were supposed to have dropped out a young man. So, we decided to circle the block but, after we went around the block, we heard a negro policeman say, "There they are". And, of course, when he hollered "there they are" the National Guard and the Los Angeles police all made a circle around us and asked us to get out of the car. We heard the guns clicking and, of course, by this time I was completely out of my mind and there I was holding a bottle of orange soda pop with some other bags of food and, of course, I think the policemen might have thought that this was one of the bombs - the Molotov cocktails that they throw. And, of course, we were asked out of the car and being asked out of the car the men were frisked, or shaken down, as you call it. Of course, they did not touch me, but the policemen did laugh because of the fact that we couldn't get the car started and, of course, it was a negro policeman who
came over and said, "would you like for me to give you a push"? Now, the others of them moved on out of the area and, of course, to the California boys who were in the car with us this was a very bitter thing for them and, of course, they said, "This is the reason that these people are rioting. Do you see what happened there"? And I do feel that this same thing could happen here in Houston since many of the problems of those people seem to be the same as ours.

Would it be correct to say that even if Houston does not have clear-cut examples of police brutality the fact remains that there is a distorted and, perhaps, exaggerated belief among lower socio-economic peoples in Houston that the police are brutal and are the enemy?

Yes, I very definitely feel so. Of course, I don't know what a justifiable reason would be for this, but I do feel that these people who are disadvantaged or low on the socio-economic level feel that the police, in many instances, are picking at them. However, I might also add that I talked with some Latin Americans in my interviews and, of course, they felt the same way.

What I am getting at also is the question of whether or not there is a real communications problem in the negro community on the lower socio-economic level --- meaning that an event may be quite minor, there may not be any police brutality, but by the time that the grapevine carries the story it becomes exaggerated?
Yes, I do feel this and I do feel that by this time that things could very easily be out of hand and, of course, have no direct relativity to the police at all.

When you said a minute ago you heard the guns clicking, in your own personal experience in Los Angeles, what did you mean?

Well, actually, I think they must have thought that we were coming into the area for some reason, other than just driving through. And, of course, this is the reason that I thought that we were stopped and, of course, I really believe that the police were actually doing the job that had been assigned to them. However, this was not the feeling of those persons who were with me in the car.

Well, were guns drawn?

Yes, they were. Very definitely.

And cocked?

Yes, they were.

All right. Then that is what the clicking sound was?

Yes, that was the clicking sound.

Would you also elaborate a little, if you could, in terms of the findings that we are uncovering here on the so-called street level - the lower socio-economic street level - where we find that people nationally who are admired are people who include Black Muslims, including Malcolm X. Would you say that, even though any Houston negroes even on the lower social economic level, would not personally participate in a Muslim movement, he
still might admire this movement or its leader?

I do feel that this is possible and my reason for saying so is, that while in Los Angeles, I had an opportunity to hear some of these people tell about their admiring the Black Muslims and their activities, because actually the Muslims were able to capitalize on this situation, so much so that they told the authorities there that, "We hear you are going to bring Dr. Martin Luther King here. Why, nobody here wants to hear Dr. Martin Luther King. The only person that they are going to listen to here will be a Mohammed". However, the authorities said that they refused to talk with any one who was of the terrorist or violent origin and, of course, they refused. But I do feel that people forget about their national admirers and would lean towards these people who are action oriented, and when I say that I mean the Muslims, because there were many records that were found where they would show them how to shut off alarm boxes, etc.

And if I understood you correctly you would agree then that in Houston there would be people who would not personally participate in a Muslim movement, but might admire the so-called action orientation that the Muslims have?

Yes, I do feel this and I do feel that our City could be most upset by this - that is, by a small majority of people starting something and, of course, the other persons joining without actually knowing what the cause was behind it.
So, if we got into trying to arrive at some analysis of how a riot is triggered and how it is perpetuated then what could you say in terms of, first, the trigger? What could set it off in Houston as well as in Los Angeles?

Well, I feel that the most minute thing could set it off, and when I say that I mean the smallest incident could incite a riot right here in our own city of Houston.

Could you give an example of a small incident?

Well, I think a small incident could be the same as it was in Los Angeles. That a person talks loud because of his drunken state and says that he was mistreated by the police and, of course, this gets around to a small group of people and then a person who is affiliated with the Muslim group, or any other terrorist organization, might come in and, of course, just throw a coke bottle or anything and, of course, this makes others join him in his effort and before you know it things could easily be out of hand.

Now, in terms of the trigger or an ignition of the fire would you say that a handbill could be in that category?

I would say yes that a handbill could be in that category.

What sort of handbill would it have to be?

Well, it could be just a handbill announcing something that has occurred against a minority of people, like in the Watts area, and, of course, they feel that this directly concerns them and, of course, without realizing
the big hurt that it could be to them that they go ahead and, of course, join in this as a result of the floating of the handbills.

But before... let's assume that everything has been peaceful on the surface and there has been no rioting at all yet, we have, I think, touched on the point that a minor police arrest could set the whole thing off, and I'm asking what else could serve as a trigger?

Well, you mentioned about the handbills and, of course, here would be an opportunity for the Muslims to get something incited among the people. I don't know whether I am answering your question directly or not, but not only handbills, but I do feel that any incident because of the feelings of the people who are low on the socio-economic level would feel that this was something directly against them because of their living standards or living conditions.

Well, if I am hearing you correctly then, you might feel that it is probably more of an actual incident then, say, the written word that would really precipitate the trouble?

Yes. I would.

May I ask you, would it be likely that anything appearing in a newspaper would provide the trigger?

Yes. I do feel that many of the things that I have not only read in the newspapers, but many of the things that I have heard on T. V., would really, pardon me, incite riots. Some of our governors of many of the
states and, of course, some of the representatives who make various
statements ... actually, it has been my feeling that some of these things
could incite and cause a riot and I might say that with the Ku Klux Klan or
many of the groups, perhaps some of the Civil Rights workers, that there
could be riots incited from within these groups that could set off a spark
that would destroy a city.

If we look at the various ways that the ignition may occur would
it be correct to say that it is the interpretation of an event, or a handbill,
that is the real trigger and that the interpretation may in fact be greatly
distorted or exaggerated.

It is my feeling, yes, that interpretation could very definitely
be a cause. Of course, in many instances these could be misinterpretations
but I do feel that the way one interprets...

How does one remedy misinterpretation among lower socio-
economic negroes, many of whom, is it correct to say, are not too literate?

Well, I would say that we would have to offer some type of
adult education or try to figure out some way to go in and help these people
to be able to actually want to help themselves and bring themselves out of
these deplorable conditions. Of course, this would not be easy and would
be a long drawn out process, but I do feel that it is possible to change the
attitude of the people with the proper education.

May I ask you, going back to Los Angeles, to mention some of
the locations in that city where you made observations and actually talked
to people, the total being each day for seven days 20 to 25. Could you
name some of the streets, some of the intersections?

Well, actually, I might say that I covered the entirety of the
Watts area. I went up and down every street that I could cover in the Watts
area.

Would you name some of those?

Well, now, I might say that as far as the riot was concerned
that it originated in Watts, but it extended to many of the other areas and,
of course, to name a few, Santa Barbara...

You mean streets?

Yes. Streets. That's right. 103rd, Central Avenue, Main
Street, Arlington, Jefferson, Western, Vernon, Crenshaw, Avalon and, of
course, many others. It also went over as far as San Pedro.

Now, were you in there in any of these areas the actual day or
night that it began?

I arrived there the morning after its beginning.

After the very first night?

After the very first night.

And you continued to go in there for seven days thereafter?

That is correct.

Now, at any time were you prevented from going in?
Well, there were instances every time I attempted that I was stopped, but they asked you for your identification and why you were going into the area, but I might say honestly that I got with one of the ministers and, of course, this minister was able to actually carry me into the area that I might be able to talk with these people.

And his justification to the authorities for going into the area was what?

Well, he was a minister and, of course, a minister is always usually admitted, not only in areas of devastation, but hospitals, etc.

What was his own intent? What did he want to try to do?

Well, as far as the minister was concerned, he did not have to give any stipulation or reason. He had a reason because of the fact that he was a minister of the gospel.

But, your knowing him, what did he want to do of help?

Well, actually, it was really to help me - to help me to be able to talk with these people, to get the actual feeling of these persons in this area that I might be able to bring back some information that might be of some help and maybe it was just that I was nosey, but I wanted to know.

Did you find anyone from Houston, or who had ever lived in Houston?

Yes, I did. I found many, many persons who had lived in Houston formerly.

Now, if those people came back here today - well, first let me
ask, were they Houston negroes on the lower socio-economic level in such tracts as we have already mentioned that are in the Fifth Ward and in the Third Ward?

I would say that a very few of them were, but most of them were not, but of the few of them...

Were not what?

Were not low on the socio-economic level here in Houston when they lived here, but there were many of them who were and, of course, I would go so far as to say that those of them with whom I talked that these persons, if they came back to Houston today, I am sure would cause ill feelings because of their attitudes and, of course, I do feel that this could cause feelings of misinterpretation among the people with whom they came or from whence they came.

Well, in terms of conditions to which they would come back, would they find it an improvement?

I do not feel that they would find any improvement from any of these areas in Houston that I have gone into. I certainly do not, and I feel that many of them would be much worse.

Well, in terms of our systematic attempt to gather street level data, the data does show, as you know, that many negroes here may not personally want to participate in violence, but that if it takes violence to gain in the end then they would favor it?

I do feel so, yes. That if these people and, from talking with
persons yesterday, if they feel that this has helped the cause of the negro in Los Angeles, that this could certainly help to aid their cause here in Houston. And, when I say cause, I mean to help better their living conditions or their standards of living; that they would certainly be willing, even if it means to kill out a few persons, that they would be willing to endure these sufferings to help themselves.

Would they be willing to see even the Black Muslims become so action oriented that they precipitate violence?

I do feel so, yes, because I believe that the feeling is now that the Muslims would be able to front for these people; that they could use the Black Muslims as a reason to further their hate of the white man.

Then you are saying that there is probably as much unreleased hostility by a large number of people who are not Muslims themselves, but would use anything that the Muslims might do by way of trouble to vent some of their own hostility?

Yes, I do, and it is not that I feel that these persons really go along with the attitudes of the Muslims to hate all white people, but I feel that they know that the Muslims don’t care about going into areas and, of course, inciting riots and maybe this is what they have been waiting for. Is something to happen so that they could get started here.

Some excuse?

Yes, some excuse.
And it may be a minor incident that is exaggerated in terms of what really did happen, or it might be a Muslim precipitated incident? Is that correct?

Yes, I do feel this way and I think that it could be something extremely minor that could happen that could result in another L. A. crisis.

How literate would you say the people are on the lower socio-economic level that you have carried on natural dialogues with in our activity in Houston? And how literate, by comparison, do you find the ones that you talked to in Los Angeles?

I might say that, as far as Houston is concerned, many of the persons with whom I have talked were actually able to get as far as the seventh grade in school. Many of them have not been exposed to any education, other than this, since they dropped out of school. Now, as far as Los Angeles is concerned, it is surprising that many of these people were very intelligent persons and, of course, they talked very intelligently about things, in spite of the fact that many of them were participants in the riot.

Have you any remarks to make that we haven't covered by question that you would like to add, but also any that might include surprises in terms of what you found out there?

Well, to be perfectly frank with you, it was just surprising to me to see how a people could be so taken in to the extent that they did not realize what was actually happening to them until after it was over. It did not seem to me that they actually realized that after they burned their
stores, that after many of the places were burned, these were the same places that they were going to need to look to for their food, etc., and, of course, after they realized it they were a very pitiful people, some of them in the manner of starving with little babies, because of the fact that they had nothing to look forward to, with the exception of someone coming outside the area to help them.

Did you try to bring food into that area?

I tried to go into the area, but I was told that if I did that they would not think anything of killing me for even offering to help them.

But, you have previously said that you did go in by reason of being with a minister?

Yes.

And this incident that you now relate, namely, that you had better not go in because you might be killed, how do you reconcile those two?

All right. I reconcile this by this. That this was the actual height of what was going on when they were actually begging people to come and help render aid. Now, my going into the area, I could very easily get into the area. That is, up until 8 o'clock at night when they curfew. You had to be in or you had to be out of the area by this time. Now, when I wanted to go into the area was on last Sunday and, of course, during this particular time they were not permitting anybody to and, of course, there is a possibility, and I want you to know this, that I could have gotten into the
area, but because of the fact that they feared for my life I was asked to not
go in and, of course, I didn't.

Well, what you are saying is that on those occasions that you
went in every day it was during daylight hours when you could come and go?

That's right. This is true.

And on the occasion where you wanted to try to help it was not
at a time where you could do this?

No, I could probably have gone in, but I was asked not to because
of the fact that it was just too dangerous. Now, I could have bucked them.
I could have gone ahead and I am sure I could have been admitted to the area
with the aid and assistance of the minister, but I just tried. I just didn't
do this.

And when you said last Sunday, you probably mean one week
ago?

That is correct.

Now in terms of the Black Muslims again, if one were able to
count the identifiable, the known Black Muslims in Houston, Texas, would
one have an accurate index as to just how weak or strong the Muslims are
here?

I don't think it would be accurate, because of the fact that there
are so many people who are identified with the Muslims here in Houston
that are not actually shown on record, or so many people who are Muslim
sympathizers who are not known about. So, I do feel that even if there were a
ban on the Muslims here in Houston that the thing has gotten so far now that it would be impossible to actually say they were cut off here.

In terms of our own activity, which has examined the extremist groups, so-called, as well as what the level of tension is on the lower social economic stratum among negroes, we know that the Muslims have moved from 2610 Dowling where they had a limited space to 3400 Polk where they have much more space. What does this mean to you?

It means to me that in our City that they are able, the Muslims, to reach more and more people and I do feel that as time goes on that they will be able to reach many, many more than they did on Dowling. Because I know for many years they were a very small group operating in our City and, of course, with these people of the low socio-economic level, that these are the persons that Muslims are able to prey on - the unintelligent person - because I feel that these are the people who would actually stop to take our time and listen to the warped ideas that the Muslims have.

Would you say that it would be the pent up hostility and, perhaps, even hate that the Muslims could make use of in recruiting new members?

This is actually what the Muslims use in advancing themselves and in advancing their ideas. These are the people that they look for. They would never go up to the top, but they start in small groups and, of course, they try to inspire these people and show them how it was intended to be in the beginning and that you should join over with us and, of course, this goes
on and on and on because others are enabled to inspire others, because this is the way their group grows.

What do you hear, and what have you heard, in terms of activity here about the Muslims saying that their organization is basically a religious organization?

Well, I have discovered that it is more hate than religious; however, they do like to consider and look upon themselves as a religious people - some of them and some of them not - but this is what they attempt to get over to the people that they are a religious group, or a chosen people and that in the end they will be ...

In terms of your statement a few minutes ago that you were surprised that so many could be taken in, I wonder if you would explain what you meant by taken in?

Yes. I talked with a young man from the Watts area who came over to the west side where there was no rioting and, of course, he asked a young man, "Brother, are you going to come and help us tonight in the riot"? And, of course, the young man said no. So, immediately, I asked him, "Why didn't you tell him that you don't believe in this cause; that you would not participate under any circumstances"? But the young man told me, "If I had told him this then there is no telling what would have happened to me. So you don't let them know that you are actually against them. You just have them feel that you are for them and, of course, this way you are safe".
But, you are saying also that the person who was trying to recruit rioters was doing so on incomplete or exaggerated reports of what had happened in the riot area? Isn't that correct?

Yes, he used police brutality. This was the main point of his argument; that this was the reason that these people were rioting and, of course, they needed some persons to help them and I do know that some of the persons who lived on the west side did go into the Watts area and help those persons who were rioting. Of course, I hate to say helped those persons, but they did just go over into the Watts area and riot.

So, once again, we come back to a communications problem and I would like to ask in this respect, do you believe that there is negro leadership in Houston, Texas, which can give at any moment a report on the index of street level feeling? I will leave it there first.

I do not feel so, because I do feel that these persons who are our so-called leaders have not gotten out into the communities to actually find out and really know what is going on. They don't know. They have not been there. And I do not feel that they could speak for the majority of the negroes in Houston on any level.

So, if there is going to be remedy in terms of keeping exaggerated reports from becoming exaggerated, the work is going to have to be done on the street level stratum, or the lower social economic stratum, where the pent up emotions really exist? Is that correct?
This is true.

Now a few minutes ago also, I believe, you were giving some figures and they may need to be clarified in terms of whether you were speaking of the state or the City of Los Angeles and whether the figures you gave were the ones you really wanted to give. I believe you gave some figure concerning 5 million?

Yes this was an incorrect figure. That figure should have been as of 1960 for the State of California 15,717,204.

You are talking about total population?

This is total population as of 1960 for the state of Los Angeles ---

I'm sorry, for the state of California.

One last question and that relates to employment. Did you find instances of people feeling, whether justified or not, that there were negroes who have qualifications for jobs but could not obtain these jobs by virtue of being a negro?

Yes. I did find instances where negroes were qualified to do various jobs, but because of the fact and, after having taken various tests, that they were not hired they figured it was because they were negroes.

Do you think such conditions exist in Houston?

Well, I do feel that there are a few instances, but I do figure that there are very few in Houston, because it seems to be here in Houston that there are more jobs, but the qualification does not come up to par and, of course, I know that this is being worked out.
This is correct. These are the people who would be affected first and this would be the point of our trouble spots and thus I would say that these are the persons who would actually need to well interpret any type of information that is sent out to them or any type of news media items.

Also, let me ask, since you, yourself, went to college, and since you, yourself, are a teacher and since you, yourself, are not a member of this street level group, before you joined the citizens activity that we have carried on here for six months or five months, at least, were you surprised when you got to carrying on so-called natural dialogues with people on a level that you are not on yourself? Were you surprised about what you heard?

Well, in some instances, I was surprised. In many instances I just wasn't surprised at all, because I learned that this is what you expect from a people; that many of these people feel the same way about things and happenings. So you could almost really know, before doing any type recordings at all, exactly what the answers would be.

Then why wouldn't the leaders, the so-called leaders, not know?

Because the leaders have not put themselves to any bother about going out to conversation with these people --- I don't believe.

And you believe that, prior even to our activity, you had been doing some of this yourself?

Yes. Yes.

And this would explain the difference between you and the so-called leader?
You mean in the sense that there are fewer negroes actually qualified for jobs?

Yes.

That might bring them the sort of standard of living that most human beings would consider decent?

Yes, I do.

One last personal addendum and that is may I ask you to give us the number and ages of your children and also a little more on your own background in terms of how far back your family dates in Houston.

I have 3 children...
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<td>3</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td><strong>110</strong></td>
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<tr>
<td>29-30 Favorite Song</td>
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<td>97 Peace! Be Still</td>
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<td>75</td>
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<td>Old Man River</td>
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<td>8</td>
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<tr>
<td>Others</td>
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TABLE 19

MOST ADMIRED BY OUTPATIENT CLINIC NEGROES (N=110),
BASED ON OPEN-ENDED QUESTION

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>President Lyndon B. Johnson</td>
<td>39</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Martin Luther King</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Robert F. Kennedy</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Late President John F. Kennedy</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Malcolm X</td>
<td>10</td>
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<tr>
<td>None</td>
<td>6</td>
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<td>Others</td>
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</table>

EXHIBIT 1

TABLE 20

MOST ADMIRED OF SAMPLE OF "FREE WORLD" WHITE PERSONS (N=85)a,
BASED ON RESPONSES ON PICTURE TEST

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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eleanor Roosevelt</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sammy Davis Jr.</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Robert F. Kennedy</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Martin Luther King</td>
<td>10</td>
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<tr>
<td>Mickey Mantle</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Others</td>
<td>5b</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

a Included airline pilots, school administrators, psychologists, psychiatrists, college teachers and students.

b Included Ralph Bunche and Ella Fitzgerald.

EXHIBIT 2
APPENDIX E
### Table 21

**Educational Achievement Scores\(^a\)** of Negro Inmates in Units of Texas Department of Corrections

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<th>Inmates</th>
<th>E. A.</th>
<th>Inmates</th>
<th>E. A.</th>
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<td>Others 84(^b)</td>
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Grand Total: ................................. 4,139

\(^a\) Based on results of Gray-Votaw-Rogers Test for Educational Achievement, as of December 31, 1962.

\(^b\) Includes 1 Negro classified as Mexican National who was not given the test, 23 who were not tested for various other reasons and 60 on whom there was no record of test results.
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LIST OF REFERENCES


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24. Interview with Austin Foster, clinical psychologist, Fort Worth, March 1964.


67. Interview with Lewis Yablonsky, American Association for the Advancement of Science meeting, Philadelphia, Dec. 28, 1962.


79. McIlvain, Dorothy. An investigation of attitudes of a group of


95. Tape-recorded interview with Ennis Wilson, Houston, March 7, 1966.


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103. Report from Dr. Lee Anderson Smith to author on Ku Klux Klan activities, Houston, Aug. 25, 1965.


110. Anti-Defamation League records, Houston, August 1965.


112. Skousen, Cleon. Talk before meeting in behalf of committee to support local police, Houston, Aug. 16, 1965.


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137. Tape-recorded interview with A. Taylor, Houston, June 8, 1965.


140. Tape-recorded interview with Mary Ely Jones, Harris County Juvenile Home, Houston, Oct. 25, 1965.


142. Tape-recorded interview with Larry Burks, Harris County Juvenile Home, Oct. 25, 1965.


145. Dimension 2 "listening post" report by Dr. Melvin Sikes, bi-racial research team member, Third Ward barber shop, Houston, June 26, 1965.


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190. Staff meeting of psychologists at Veterans Administration Hospital in Houston, March 1, 1966, and staff meeting of psychiatrists at Hedgecroft Hospital in Houston, March 21, 1966.


196. Letter from Alonzo Langley, director of education, Texas Department of Corrections, July 8, 1965.

197. Interview with Dr. George Beto, director of Texas Department of Corrections, Huntsville, Sept. 16, 1965.


201. Conference with Mayor Louie Welch, Houston, March 17, 1966.


VITA

Blair Justice

Education

B. A. University of Texas (in arts and sciences)
M. S. Columbia University (in journalism and Russian)
M. A. Institute of Behavioral Science, Texas Christian University
(in psychology)
Ph.D. Rice University (in behavioral science)

Experience

Houston Post, editor of science news department and science
columnist, 1964--
Fort Worth Star Telegram, science columnist, 1950-55, 1956-64

Adjunct professor in science writing, North Texas State University,
1961-64
Lecturer in general psychology, TCU, 1963-64

Consultant to Governor's Task Force on Mental Retardation, 1964
and 1965
Consultant to President on executive evaluation and management
team communications, Alcon Laboratories, 1962-64
Texas director, Council for the Advancement of Science Writing,
on-the-job training program, 1965--

Honors

Phi Beta Kappa
Society of Sigma Xi

Named One of Five Outstanding Young Men of Texas, 1961
Named Outstanding Young Man of Fort Worth, 1960

Only four-time winner of Anson Jones Award for medical journalism
Winner of 26 awards for science writing

Memberships

American Psychological Association
Texas Psychological Association
Houston Psychological Association
Memberships - continued

Texas Gridiron Club (president, 1962)
Press Club of Houston (member of board of directors, 1965--)
American Association of Space Writers
National Association of Science Writers (member of executive committee, 1965--)

American Association for the Advancement of Science

Executive Committee, Health Section, Community Council of Houston and Harris County
Education Committee, Community Council of Houston and Harris County
'Resource person,' Education Committee, Houston Council on Human Relations

Personal

Born in Dallas July 2, 1927
Navy in World War II, duty in Pacific Theater
Married in 1954 to Judy Jackson
Three children

Publications

'Religion of Surgery,' Linacre Quarterly, February 1964
'Science, Scientists and Communication,' Journal of Baylor University College of Dentistry, Winter 1964
'Scatter Child,' Providence School Press, 1963
'The Trainable Retarded Child,' National Association for Retarded Children, 1960
'Some Psychological Observations and Impressions in the Antarctic,' Institute of Behavioral Science, 1961
'I Chose to Live,' Parade magazine, Dec. 20, 1959
'Antarctic Adventure,' Parade, Dec. 12, 1960
'Quickstep on the Moon,' Rendezvous, Vol. III, No. 5, 1964

'As Limitless as the Stars,' Press Messenger, Jan. 1963
'The News Value of Conflict,' Quill, April 1965
'Science Reporter Covers South Pole,' Quill, Feb. 1961
'Advice to Science Writers,' Quill, Aug. 1960

Wonders of the Human Body, to be published by G. P. Putnam's, New York

32 articles in Medical Tribune, Medical World News, Psychiatric Reporter and Science Fortnight
Planned Publications

A Methodology for Investigating Potential Racial Violence Differential Modes of Expression Among Negroes, with William McCord, Fox Professor of Sociology, Rice University, and Douglass Price-Williams, Professor and Chairman, Department of Psychology, Rice University.